

## ONWARD



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Fall 2001



One Dollar

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SPECIAL  
ONWARD  
EDITORIAL:  
America Under  
Attack?

By Dan Berger

Shortly before press time, four American commercial airplanes were hijacked and crashed in what is being heralded as the largest terrorist attack ever. Two planes demolished the World Trade Center, one hit the Pentagon and one was forced down in a crash outside of Pittsburgh. Thousands have died and many more are injured. Everyone is on edge and wondering "what does this mean?"

These are dangerous times and we have to be clear on what has happened, what is currently going on and what the future holds. The attacks are being attributed to anti-American, CIA-trained, Afghanistan nationalist Osama bin-Laden. The as yet unknown assailants' attacks are indefensible, many of those killed or affected by these actions are work-

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## Genoa and the New Language of Protest

By David Graeber

Compare two abandoned streets in Genoa during the weekend of the G8 summit, immediately after confrontations between protesters and police. The first was where Ya Basta! had faced off against riot cops on July 20, was scattered with oddly whimsical debris: slabs of rubber padding, bits of mock-Roman foam armor, balloons and abandoned plexiglas shields with inscriptions like "Yuri Gagarin Memorial Space Brigade."

The other was the sort of scene one might see in the aftermath of a riot: shattered glass from storefront windows, charred automobile parts, and, everywhere, spent tear-gas canisters and jagged rocks. It was the first kind of confrontation, not the second, that was anathema to the Italian police. The carabinieri set out to create a riot, and that was exactly what they did.

Ya Basta! is an Italian social movement most famous for their *tutti bianchi*, or "white overalls," a nonviolent army who gear up in elaborate forms of padding, ranging from foam armor to inner tubes to

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photo from [www.indymedia.org](http://www.indymedia.org)  
Activists face off with police in Genoa during demonstrations against the G8 meetings

## The Struggle to Save CHARAS and Build Community Power

By Brooke Lehman

Artists, activists and the Latino community of the Lower Eastside of Manhattan have been fighting to save the building that houses CHARAS/ El Bohio community center from real estate developer Greg Singer for three years.

CHARAS (originally called "The Real Great Society") was founded in the late 60s by a group of young Latino gang members turned community organizers. In 1979, when the Lower Eastside was virtually abandoned by City Hall, CHARAS squatted the 120,000 square foot former public school building. When CHARAS moved in, recalls Chino Garcia, one of its founding members and current director, the building was "a shooting gallery. It was pretty much destroyed." Since then, the CHARAS community has put over a million dollars worth of "sweat equity" into renovations, and now CHARAS provides space for after-school programs; dance, martial arts and ESL classes; art exhibitions; theater rehearsals and performances; and space for countless radical political and cultural organizations.

Picture the Homeless is one of the many organizations that meets at CHARAS. When Anthony Williams first approached CHARAS, he and other homeless activists had no place to meet but the streets. "CHARAS offered us their large gallery space. They knew we didn't have any money and they gave us a chance." Now Picture the Homeless meets at CHARAS weekly with as many as 200 homeless people in attendance.

In 1998, Mayor Giuliani put CHARAS, and hundreds of community gardens, on the auction block. Singer bought CHARAS from the city for \$3.15 million.

Selling CHARAS, says Williams, "was a total insult to all the poor people of the community who are struggling daily just to survive, and to all the people who have put so much energy into making CHARAS what it is today."

The community has kept the heat on Giuliani and Singer by legal defense and direct action, successfully maintaining control over the building. They have intercepted every potential financial backer that Singer has brought to the building with information packets and a brass band singing "Shame on you! Greedy Greg Singer!"

Earlier this year, CHARAS celebrated a legal victory, when a jury unanimously ruled that Singer could not evict them because he did not intend for the building to remain in Community Use (a present zoning requirement). But this victory was short lived. In June, CHARAS learned that the trial judge never entered the jury's verdict, and that an appeals court had overturned the previous decision giving CHARAS the right to a trial initially. CHARAS now has only until Dec. 12, when the city will again try to evict them.

For many in the community, the struggle to save CHARAS has furthered their understanding of the stranglehold that capitalism and party politics has on oppressed communities. Most are keenly aware that the struggle has implications far beyond their community center, and far beyond the specific characters, administrations, and court rulings that most directly slight them.

The struggle to save CHARAS is a struggle for community power. In a city requiring a permit to gather in public places in groups larger than 20, CHARAS is one of the only large spaces that Lower Eastside community members have to meet and discuss the issues affecting their lives. Their ability to make collective, community decisions is their power, and this power flies in the face of the government and its capitalist henchmen.

New York is the belly of the capitalist beast. Power here is divided overwhelmingly along race and class lines, rendering poor communities and communities of color marginalized, disenfranchised and terrorized. Capitalist

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From Detroit to  
Durban: A Report on  
the World Conference  
Against Racism

## United Nations Hijacks WCAR

By JoNina M. Abron

"The people who should be here are not here because they couldn't afford the money to come and because their governments put impediments in their way." African-Canadian woman, NGO delegate

"This is not a conference against racism. This is a corporate global seminar on diversity." African-American man, NGO delegate

### ELITISM OF THE CONFERENCE

The World Conference Against Racism was elitist and undemocratic. It intentionally kept out grassroots and poor NGOs through high admission (\$100 per person USD). Some 947 NGOs registered for the WCAR, with many of these groups having five or more people. But after the NGO meeting, only 1,500 badges were issued so that only a few of the non-governmental delegates could attend the WCAR.

In addition, poor people, including hundreds of South Africans, were turned away when they came to the conference because they could not afford to pay. South Africans figured that since the thing was being held in their country, they had a right to attend. Speculation was that all this was to

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## SUBMISSIONS:

*ONWARD* relies on submissions from people throughout the world. Our articles are chronicles of movement activity and strategy for strengthening the movement; as such, we rely completely on the movement for our news, theory, opinion, centerfold and history pieces. As a movement publication, we require the support and participation of the movement! Please include information on how to get involved in the struggle you're reporting on and a brief biography, but do not exceed 2,500 words in length. Pictures and other graphics are always needed. We prefer articles be sent via email, but they can also be sent on IBM format disks, or send hard copies to the PO Box. We reserve the right to edit for length, content and clarity, but please include your contact information to go over edits with you.

## ADVERTISEMENTS:

While our desire to keep *ONWARD* as politically packed as possible means we limit the amount of advertisements, we still encourage those interested to contact us. Rates as followed:  
1/8 page (4.75"x4"): \$15  
1/6 page (3.25"x7.75"): \$20  
1/4 page (4.75"x7.75"): \$30

## DISTRIBUTION:

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10 copies: \$7; 20 copies: \$13; 30 copies: \$20;  
40 copies: \$25; 50 copies: \$30; 60 copies: \$35;  
80 copies: \$45; 100 copies: \$50  
For orders outside the US, please add \$4.  
We suggest selling the paper for \$1/copy.

## SUBSCRIPTIONS:

**Annual subscription (4 issues):** \$7-10 in the US and Puerto Rico (\$10-13 elsewhere) and free to Prisoners anywhere.  
**Single issues:** \$2 ppd in the US and Puerto Rico (\$3 ppd elsewhere).  
Send well-concealed cash or checks and money orders made out to *ONWARD*.

## DISCLAIMER:

Views expressed in *ONWARD* are those of the author and not necessarily of the Onward Collective. No article in the publication is intended to encourage or promote illegal activity; the content is solely for educational purposes. Intentionally revised spellings are expressions of individual contributor's political beliefs (i.e. 'womyn' instead of 'women').

## FRIENDS OF ONWARD

The cost of running an anarchist publication is exorbitant, even for an all-volunteer-run paper like *ONWARD*. By becoming a Friend of *ONWARD*, you enable the project to continue and expand. With a contribution of \$100 or more, you become an official Friend, entitling you to a free subscription and 50 percent off anything that we distribute. More benefits to come!

## PRISONERS' FUND

*ONWARD* gladly provides free subscriptions to any and all prisoners who request it. Though we are happy to offer this service, it is rather expensive, especially when copies are rejected and we must go through an appeals process. Help us be able to send anarchist news, strategy, theory and opinion to hundreds of prisoners by donating to the Prisoners' Fund. Send checks/money orders to *ONWARD* earmarked 'Prisoners' Fund'. All money goes to ensuring that those locked up continue to receive the paper.

## DONATIONS:

Everything (books, pamphlets etc.) donated to us will be shelved at the Civic Media Center ([www.civicmediacenter.org](http://www.civicmediacenter.org)), an alternative library and reading-room of the non-corporate press. *ONWARD* doesn't review materials but we support the projects by shelving them at the CMC for public access.

## DEADLINE:

★ VOL. 2 ISSUE 3:  
**December 1, 2001.**  
Vol. 2, Issue 3 will be out mid-December.

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## From the Onward Collective,

This summer has turned out to be a very active and important one for the anarchist movement. Many mass protests, actions, and strikes took place against institutions of state and capitalist power around the world. We've strengthened resistance and exposed the illegitimacy of the powers that be.

What's shaping this movement is not simply action, but critical observation, analysis, dialogue and vision. In an anti-authoritarian movement, it's essential for us to develop this direction to be as participatory as possible.

★★★

Protests in Genoa, Italy drew a hundred thousand people to confront the G8, the organization of the eight richest nations (p. 1, 3). Once again, our movement's tactics were diverse. Where they were the most confrontational, the state showed little mercy, and the killing of a young militant, Carlo Giuliani, by the Italian police ensued. It has pushed the movement to ask important questions on tactics and strategy (p. 3).

In Philadelphia, demonstrations confronted a particular institution of capitalist globalization: the prison industrial complex. The American Correctional Association conference and corporations invested in the prison industry were confronted, and the demonstrations highlighted the relation of prison growth to profit growth (p. 7).

But confrontations in the streets were not the only important building blocks for this growing movement. Conferences were held to educate, organize and move us forward. Like our mass actions, our conferences, developing our ideas together as opposed to taking orders from a top-down leadership, are prefigurative of the free society we hope to achieve.

The Southern Girls' Convention, Strategic Resistance, Renewing the Anarchist Tradition and the Permanent Autonomous Zone conferences forced us to look inward as well as outward. They dealt with issues of sexism, gender, ethnicity, class, culture, sexuality and other social hierarchies and looked at revolutionary strategy of contemporary anarchism and the importance of building community spaces as infrastructure for our movement (p.4).

At all these conferences, and the many not reported here, activists pushed forward to create direction for our movement, and we at *ONWARD* hope to chronicle and add to the discussion.

★★★

As anarchists, we only show ourselves when we have streets to barricade, fences to tear down, flags to wave, and when our faces are covered in masks. While anarchists are definitely noticed in society today, we are only recognized by our commitment to stay in the streets. We have not been very successful in advancing our ideas, just

in letting the world know that we're around. But where are we when these giant global institutions aren't meeting? And what do we have to say about them or anything else? Anarchists seem to be afraid of the public sphere but what we need today is an intervention in everyday public life! (p. 15)

We're surely not being fooled about where power is. Since "Seattle" we've been exactly right by pinpointing global institutions and we've been very successful in disrupting their course of "development." But where does power lie where we live and how can we take it back? What would that type of strategy look like? What form does our anarchism take when we're not screaming and dancing in the streets? What does anarchism look like in our local struggles? Not simply in the streets nor the workplace, but in the places where political power exists? How can we challenge such powers in ways that advance our ideas, that build popular movements that bring us in the direction of political change? In a direction for a society in which all of us together can make the decisions that effect our lives?

It is our hope that, among many questions, these are some that we begin to address in the anarchist movement today. We must think about what progress looks like, from the global to the local arenas. And we need to strategize how we can go from where we are to where we want to be. Without a vision for the future, and a strategy to get there, our action-action-action will be blind-blind-blind.

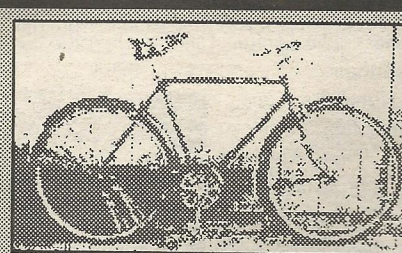
Solidarity,

Rob Augman

The Onward Collective

P.S. In the wake of recent attacks on the U.S. and calls for war, *ONWARD* will be collaborating with several different anarchist publishers in the production of a special newspaper of radical responses, history and analysis. Financial and distribution help are much needed! Contact us for more information.

## CENTERFOLD FOR NEXT ISSUE:



**Anarchism and Technology**

*\*Deadline: December 1st, 2001*

## WHAT IS ONWARD?

*ONWARD* is an anarchist newspaper intending to facilitate both a report of anarchist actions worldwide and foster analysis of current events from an anarchist perspective, all in the process of building an intelligent, well informed and powerful revolutionary movement. Our goal is to show the relation of the different liberation struggles and the unification of often separated movements. Different anarchist viewpoints (Syndicalist, Feminist, Green etc.) are not mutually exclusive but rather all fit together in the larger revolutionary framework. Real liberation is freedom in every sphere of life; we must dissolve all forms of hierarchy that tangle the world in coercion, oppression, and domination and replace them with liberatory and cooperative structures guaranteeing all to participate in reshaping the local and world communities. We aim for a social sphere that needs and desires no such rulings over our lives and communities. We believe in the abolition of capitalism; that economies should not set one class above another but foster solidarity, mutual aid and direct decision making.

To that end, *ONWARD* is a forum for anarchist news and contains anarchist and radical history, theory and opinion in order to not only critique the social and political relationships that exist today, but also present a viable and logical future based on voluntary cooperation, direct and participatory democracy, mutual aid, solidarity, and freedom; in short, anarchy!

## WHAT'S NEW WITH US?

First and foremost, we're pleased to announce the creation of an Onward website with lots of articles, links, a complete list of materials we distribute and a whole lot more. Check it out at [www.onwardnewspaper.org](http://www.onwardnewspaper.org).

With the new website comes a new email address. Now you can contact us by writing [info@onwardnewspaper.org](mailto:info@onwardnewspaper.org). We offer a sincere thanks to Ernesto Aguilar for his wonderful help in setting up the website.

You can show your support for *ONWARD* by becoming an official Friend of *ONWARD*! When you give a donation of \$100 or more, you get a free subscription and 50 percent off anything we distribute for a year. Keep your eyes peeled for more hot deals that you can get by becoming a Friend of *ONWARD*.

We have also started a Prisoners' Fund. We gladly offer prisoners free subscriptions, but it is rather costly. By donating to the Prisoners' Fund, you enable us to send the paper to the hundreds of prisoners currently subscribed. It is the best way to help our imprisoned comrades receive the latest in anarchist news, theory, opinion and strategy.

If money is a problem for you, there are plenty of other ways to help *ONWARD*. Have you subscribed? Do you distribute the paper? Do stores in your area distribute the paper? Do you submit articles, drawings or pictures? Please remember that the Onward Collective is very small and we rely heavily on the anarchist movement for articles and our success.

Send all correspondence to the Onward Collective at:

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# BEYOND GENOA

## DISCUSSION OF STRATEGY AND DIRECTION FOLLOWING THE DEATH OF CARLO GIULIANI

### Why We Need to Stay in the Streets

By Starhawk

Large-scale protests are becoming more dangerous and difficult. The summits are moving to inaccessible locations. The global institutions continue their business. Are we being effective enough to justify the risks we're taking? Should we be focusing more on local work, building our day-to-day networking and organizing?

From what I experienced in Genoa, including real terror and horror, I am more convinced that we need to stay in the streets and continue mounting large actions, contesting summits and working on the global scale. Our mass actions have been extraordinarily effective, despite despairing comments that protests have not affected the debates in the halls of power. Though we have drastically changed the agendas and the propaganda used (the actual policies will be the last to change), for most of us on the streets, our purpose is to undercut their legitimacy and to raise the social costs of their existence until they become insupportable, not to change the debate inside the institutions. Contesting the summits has delegitimized these institutions in a way local organizing can't. The summits are elaborate rituals and ostentatious shows of power. When they are forced to meet behind walls, to fight a pitched battle over every conference, to retreat to isolated locations, the ritual is interrupted and their legitimacy is undercut. The agreements being negotiated in secret are put in the spotlight of public scrutiny. The lie that globalization means democracy is exposed and the mask of benevolence is removed.

Local organizing can't accomplish this nearly as well. Local work is vital for outreach, education, movement building, creating viable alternatives and the amelioration of some of the immediate effects of global policy, to name a few examples. We can't and won't abandon the local. Many of us work on both scales. No one can go to every summit; we must be rooted in community organizing. But many of us come to the larger, global actions understanding that the trade agreements and institutions we contest are designed to undo our local work and override the decisions and aspirations of local communities. We should make it a conscious goal of every mass action to strengthen local networks and support local organizing. Besides Washington DC, Brussels or Geneva, which have no choice, no city will host these international meetings twice. If we organize mass actions that leave resources and functioning coalitions behind, each action can strengthen and support the local work that happens daily.

Summits won't remain the nice, juicy, targets that they are for long. Now that meetings are being scheduled in more obscure and isolated venues, we need a strategy that allows us to build momentum, so that, for example, we can have linked, large-scale regional actions targeting stock exchanges and financial institutions when the WTO meets in Qatar in November. The message is: "If you move the summits beyond our reach and continue the policies of power consolidation and wealth concentration, social unrest will spread beyond these specific institutions to challenge the whole structure of global capitalism itself." Marches, teach-ins, countersummits, programs of positive alternatives combined



with direct action on the scale we've reached pose a clear threat to the power structure. The more successful we are, the more brutal and repressive they get. But when they use force against us, we still win, even though it comes at a high cost. Systems of power maintain themselves by fear of the force they can command, but force is costly. They can't sustain themselves if they must use force to accomplish every function.

Genoa was a victory at a terrible price. I ache, grieve and rage over the price. I would do anything but back away from the struggle to assure that no one ever suffers such brutality again. That violence and brutality is being enacted, daily, all over the world. It's the shooting of four students in New Guinea, the closing of a school in Senegal, the work quota in a maquiladora on the Mexican border, the clearcutting of a forest in Oregon, the price of privatized water in Cochabamba. It's the violence being perpetrated on the bodies of youth of color in prisons all over the US, and the brutality and murder going on in Colombia, Palestine, Venezuela, and it's the utter disregard for the ecosystems.

It's not a choice between the danger of a large action and safety. In the long run, our safest course is to act strongly now. The choice is about when and how we contest those attempting to close all political space for true dissent. Genoa made clear that they will fight ruthlessly to defend the consolidation of power, but we still have a broad space in which to organize and mount large actions. We need to defend that space by using, filling and broadening it. Either we continue to fight them together now when we can mount large-scale, effective actions, or we fight them later in small, isolated groups, or alone when they break down the doors of our homes in the middle of the night. Either we struggle now, or we fight when the damage is deeper and the hope of healing slim.

We have many choices about how to struggle. We can be more strategic, more creative and more skillful. We can learn to better prepare people for what they might face and to better support people afterward. We have deep questions to consider about violence, our tactics and our long-range vision, but those choices remain only so long as we keep open the space in which to make them. We need to grow, not shrink. We need to explore and claim new political territory. We need future actions to be bigger, wilder, more creatively outrageous and inspiring than ever. We need to stay in the streets.

Starhawk [www.starhawk.org](http://www.starhawk.org)

### Will a Death in the Family Breathe Life into the Movement?

By Flaco

Seattle may have been a watershed, but Carlo Giuliani's killing in Genoa is a true turning point for the anti-capitalist movement. How we play it from here will have repercussions far beyond the blood-stained streets of Northern Italy. It was no isolated rookie cop overreaction that left one mother mourning and several others preparing to as the sun went down on Friday night, but a deliberate act of terror – in the most basic sense of the word.

The snowball that's been gaining weight and speed as it rolled through Geneva, Prague and Gothenburg has become far too jagged a spike in the side of those steering the global theft of resources and lives. So bullets meet brains and young people are shot dead for demanding another way.

The message from the world's authorities is clear: go back to your homes, do not meddle in what doesn't concern you, return to your televisions, to smoking dope and stealing traffic cones and leave the intricacies of global economics alone because if you don't we will kill you the same way we killed Carlo Giuliani.

For decades, the poorest of the planet's families from Asia, Africa and Latin America have been burying those who dared to confront the forces of global capitalism. But Carlo's death spells something different. The global elite has is killing its own children. The whip of economic dictatorship is finally cracking at home.

But where we go from here is still up for grabs. The globalisers would dearly love to see us run scared, or split our ranks with paranoid accusations of 'whose side are you on?' Tactical difference should not be confused with police collusion and counter-revolutionary activity, or vice-versa.

True enough, there were cops in ski-masks leading the more excitable and naive on attacks on corner shops, bus stops and post offices. But the agitators can be addressed. If everyone who takes any action knows why they are taking it and what sort of action they think is necessary to achieve their goal, then the police will not be able to steer the crowds, the meetings, the discussion groups or 'the movement' as a whole. The problem is less one of infiltration, more one of focus.

The more liberal elements of groups such as the Genoa Social Forum or Prague's INPEG need to understand that just because they have the attention of the newspapers doesn't mean they speak with the voice of the people. The reformist agenda of these groups, who call for more legislation, more institutions and stronger government control over the runaway capitalist train, is an entire philosophy away from the genuine participatory democracy sought by many.

Instead of calling for the deployment of "non-violent methods of restraining and defusing violent behaviour" for those who fail to adhere to "the political and ethical parameters of our mass actions" (in the words of Walden Bello), perhaps the up-in-arms

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## This Will Not Be Kent State

### Fear, Loathing and Radical Movement: 1960s and the Present

By Eugene Koveos and Nicole Solomon

Carlo Giuliani was given the tragic distinction of being the first high-profile death at a demonstration against capitalist globalization. A 23-year old anarchist, he was gunned down by police and run over by their armored van. As the Group of 8 meeting he protested came to an end, and world leaders dried their crocodile tears, numerous media outlets compared Carlo's murder and its repercussions to the killings at Kent State university.

However, for the US at least, this is not and likely will not be Kent State. It is worth the comparison to see why the brutal murder of a demonstrator, though explicitly considered a part of a global movement with many participants in the US, is devoid of the same disruption and controversy as the Kent State murders.

Over 30 years before Genoa, four students were murdered during demonstrations at Kent State University on May 4, 1970. Anti-war protests had occurred almost continually on campus in May, and on the second the mayor asked the Ohio National Guard to step in. On the fourth, the National Guard attempted to disperse an unpermitted rally with tear gas, and were met with jeers and occasional rocks by the students. Eventually the Guard fired live ammunition. Most fired into the air or the ground, but some fired directly into the now fleeing crowd. Nine people were seriously injured and 4 killed: Allison Krause, Sandra Scheuer, William Schroeder and Jeffrey Miller. The guardsman claimed they fired because they feared for their lives. This explanation was ultimately upheld in court.

Any contemporary liberatory movement with participants in the US cannot shun analyses that reference this nation's past movements. Although Carlo Giuliani's murder occurred in Italy, it has direct relevance to and impact on the US population of the global movement. We recognize that while the movement against capitalist globalization is an international one, US-centricity within the US segment of the movement is a problem. While US-centricity informs the distance from the Genoa tragedy for the US branch of

the movement, it may also inform its co-option. We should be particularly mindful of this when discussing the US national impact of events outside the US.

Eleven days after Kent State, a college and a high school student were killed by police and state troopers at Jackson State. National and movement empathy passed over the slain at Jackson State without mass controversy or outrage. There were critical differences between these killings: the Kent State students were white and attending a predominantly white school, while the Jackson State 2 were Black and killed at a historically Black institution. The protests at Jackson State were expressions of rage against a war overseas and the war being waged against those demonstrating in the US. The focus of their anger was not primarily the shootings in Ohio (as was the case with the hundreds of other Kent-related demos that did not result in casualties) but the racist attacks occurring regularly against Black residents of their town. The most confrontational of these protests was caused by a rumor that mayor Charles Evers (brother of slain civil rights leader Medger Evers) and his wife had been murdered. These contextual differences are key: the agenda of the Jackson State students was broader and more personal, illustrating various deeply interlocked manifestations of state violence and oppression in a way that blatantly implicated local power in global imperialism. In essence these demos were both more radical and more threatening.

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# SUMMER OF STRUGGLE CONFERENCE REPORTS FROM A RADICAL SUMMER

## Largest-Ever Southern Girls Convention Builds Pro-Woman Community in South

By Claire Rumore, Charles Johnson, and Ailecia Ruscin

For three days, a quiet Deep South college town was transformed into the radical feminist activism capital of the South. On the weekend of July 20 through July 22, over 500 radical feminists, anarchists, queer liberation activists, labor organizers, anti-sexist punks, and other pro-woman activists converged on Auburn University in Auburn, Alabama for the third annual Southern Girls Convention.

The historic meeting, the largest SGC to date, was organized by members of Auburn Women's Organization and Free State Action, with support from Auburn Gay and Lesbian Association, Alabama NOW, and the Feminist Majority Foundation. SGC2001 brought together activists from across the South and supporters from all over the United States and Canada for a weekend of discussion, action, and entertainment devoted to ending violence against women, protecting abortion access, and fighting oppression based on gender, race, sexuality, economic class, body size, and more.

Southern Girls Convention was originally the idea of Women's Action Coalition in Memphis, Tennessee. The organizers wanted to create a safe space for young activists in the South, where the walls of isolation imposed by a reactionary Southern culture could be broken down at least for a few days out of the year. SGC would also be different from traditional activist conferences by organizing around the principles of skill-sharing and person-to-person communication. Instead of bringing in "experts" to talk about a prepared agenda, members of the local community would organize the convention and participants would organize all workshops as peers sharing their skills and knowledge with each other.

The first annual SGC was held in July 1999 at the University of Memphis campus with about 100 participants from the South and all over the United States. The second was organized in Louisville, Kentucky by members of the youth magazine Brat, Louisville Anti-Racist Action, the

Autonomous Womyn's League, the Progressive Students League, Kentucky Student Progressive Network, and some with no affiliation. It drew about 200 participants to the BRYCC House, a youth-run youth community center. Workshops at both conventions were offered on reproductive rights, sexuality, racism, classism, fatphobia, zine-making, women's health, queer issues, and much more. At the convention in Louisville a handful of people from the Deep South got together and discussed having next year's convention in Alabama.

The third annual Southern Girls Convention was held at Foy Student Union at Auburn University in Auburn, Alabama. Organizers were excited about moving the convention into the "Heart of Dixie," giving participants a chance to confront the myths and realities of life in the South. As in years past, workshops explored radical social issues and skill-sharing for personal/political change. This year, workshops also began to critically explore how we organize in our communities and develop strategies that are both empowering and accessible to everyone.

Events during the weekend included:

- ★ Over 60 peer-run workshops on topics including women in the South, reproductive rights, sexuality, consciousness-raising groups, healthy living, racism, women's self-defense, movement-building, using the Internet, DIY and guerilla media, and sexual violence.
- ★ Regional organizing caucuses giving participants the chance to network with others in their region and begin developing new strategies and coordinated campaigns.
- ★ Feminist films, zines, three music shows, and women's culture from around the South
- ★ A spontaneous "Take it to the Streets" demonstration by 60-75 Radical Cheerleaders. The group marched through the streets and took over the downtown Taco Bell in support of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers' struggle for living wages for Florida farm workers.
- ★ A weekend of meeting, community-building,

and networking with over 500 activists from across the South. Organizing meetings for groups included the Lesbian Avengers, the Coalition of Immokalee Workers, Amnesty International's Women's Human Rights Campaign, state chapters of the National Organization for Women and others.

We left the Convention feeling exhausted, challenged, united, liberated, and strong. After the convention was over, SGC faced

some minor backlash in the local media from anti-feminists such as the Alabama chapter of Eagle Forum (a group founded by Phyllis Schlafly in her fight against feminist activism in the 1970s), but the event itself went off without a hitch and many in the Auburn-Opelika community came out in support of SGC.

With regional and national media coverage, and more than twice the number of participants of last year's convention, SGC2001 was the biggest, most recognized, most diverse Southern Girls Convention yet and one of the biggest events in Southern politics all summer. This year's organizers are very excited about next year's convention, whose location will be decided shortly, and hope to see the momentum and growth of the past three years continue, making SGC an ongoing, transformative, radicalizing presence in the South for many years to come.

The authors organized the third annual Southern Girls Convention. Claire and Charles are Auburn students doing feminist organizing in the Auburn-Opelika community, and Ailecia is an Auburn native now doing anti-capitalist and feminist organizing in Lawrence, Kansas. Contact them by e-mail at [sgcalabama@hotmail.com](mailto:sgcalabama@hotmail.com), or through the convention web page at <http://ailecia.tripod.com/southerngirls/home.html>



## IN BRIEF...

### Anarchist Strategy Discussed at RAT Conference

Five summers ago, in Montague, MA, the Critical Issues in Contemporary Anarchism conference attempted to provide a scholarly space in which to both reexamine and reinvent the social and political tradition of anarchism. This small contribution to the difficult process of challenging anarchist history, thought, and practice continued Aug. 23-26, in Plainfield, Vermont, at the second annual Renewing the Anarchist Tradition conference.

Several presentations discussed the role of anarchism in the 'anti-globalization' movement, including: Anarchism in/as the Anti-Capitalist Movement; Anarchy in the Streets: Reflections on the Anti-Globalization Movement; Feminism, Sexism, & Oppression in the "Anti-Globalization" Movement; The "New" Anarchism: Tracing Roots, Proposing Directions; Toward a Democracy of Everyday Life: "Anti-Globalization" & the Direct Democracy Sensibility; and Direct Action: More than Protest, Deeper than Tactics;

Other workshops dealt more generally with expanding and developing anarchist theory and strategy, including: How Anarchists (& everyone else) Should Think About Ethics; Collectives, Federations, & Revolutionary Struggle; Anarchism & the Academy: Theorists of Revolt or Revolting Theorists?; When Fucking the System Isn't Enough: A Critical Look at Ten Years of Successful Anarchist Organizing; and The Crisis of Coercive Authority: Assemblies of Authority & Coercion, & the Structure of Anarchist Political Theory.

The conference also discussed anarchist history as a way of sharpening our present understanding and practice. Anarchism & Historical Consciousness; Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, & the Future we Hark Back To; and Everyday Resistance as Strategy: Under Slavery, in Peasant Societies, & on the Factory Floor — Toward a Revolutionary Strategy for Today looked to the past to build the future.

Marginalization, oppression and liberation were also discussed in workshops like Paint it Black: Anarchism, Urban Uprising, & the Mainstream News Media; In Defense of the Korean Anarchist Movement: Toward a New Conceptualization of Anarchist Politics; Anarchists of Color Panel: A Facilitated Discussion; Anarchy & the Minority; Queer Liberation in an Antiauthoritarian Future; and Anarchism & African American Liberation.

All in all, it was quite a success. Next year's conference will hopefully be at a larger space to allow more people to participate.

Check out the webpage at: [www.homemadejam.org/renew](http://www.homemadejam.org/renew)

### PAZ Conf. Focuses on Community Building

Over 200 people gathered in Louisville, KY on Labor Day weekend to discuss building lasting community infrastructure.

The Permanent Autonomous Zone conference drew activists involved in squats, infoshops, community gardens and other projects across the country to discuss and strategize the hows and whys of community organizing.

While lots of ideas were shared and many people left feeling empowered, others were turned off by the overwhelming presence of lifestyle politics. The conference begged the question of expanding our "community" beyond safe, subcultural boundaries to build popular revolutionary movements.

## Strategic Resistance Organizing Conference Continues Critical Discussion

By Larry George, LA Indymedia

Approximately 200 anarchists and anti-authoritarians from several western states gathered on August 2-5 in Venice and Santa Monica, California for an invitation-only conference that many who attended described as rejuvenating and pathbreaking. Organizers of the gathering intended it to be a place where activists could discuss goals and projects, as well as confront pressing issues of sexism and white supremacy, not only in US society as a whole, but also within the anti-authoritarian and anti-corporate globalization movements themselves.

A multitude of activists from a variety of backgrounds, identities, and affiliations attended the meetings. The vast majority identified themselves as anarchists, significantly fewer as socialists, only a handful as communists. Many, especially among younger participants, rejected all of the classifications offered. Between 30 and 40 percent of those present were women. Approximately a fourth were persons of color, and perhaps a third self-identified as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender. (The organizers had sought to use the invitation-only process to ensure that a solid majority — ideally around two thirds — of the group would be made up of women, gay men, and transgender persons). Several were under 20, a few over 40. Only five had children. All but a handful had been to college and most had parents who had gone to college. Over two-thirds were bilingual, and for several, including a delegation

from Mexico, English was a second language. Most were vegans or vegetarians. Only a few expressed any allegiance to organized religion, an overwhelming majority identified themselves as spiritual. Over half had been to jail, and a significant number proudly admitted to dumpster diving and living on the streets at some point. The conference was organized into plenary meetings, morning workgroups, afternoon caucuses, and evening sessions devoted to exploring possible future projects, actions, and other common work. Friday's workshops used the Seattle anti-WTO actions of November 1999, and the successive protests and activities that have taken place since then as a springboard for discussion. Participants were encouraged to draw on their personal experiences in these actions to frame visions of a liberated society, and to discuss strategies, tactics, and means for creating such a society. Workgroup facilitators framed the discussions around 5, 10, and 25 year time periods, asking participants to list goals they would like to see accomplished within each of these stages.

In another workgroup, the discussion was thoughtful and reflective, if somewhat abstract. Aragorn, who had come down from Oakland, suggested that moving beyond what he called "the deep, articulate, and numbing language of the left" would be crucial. Annie, Nick, and Gila addressed some of the large questions facing the movement. One participant suggested that "we need to push this movement beyond simply fight-

ing for harm reduction" and toward real positive change.

Carwil James of Project Underground in Berkeley presented a detailed strategy toward large-scale revolutionary transformation. It put forward entailed concrete measures, like establishing actual indigenous control over enough territory as to make up both a substantial region and a political bloc. It also involved creating a 'culture of subversion,' that would support revolutionary activity through, for example, generating a 'recruitment crisis' for the forces of repression by making it more and more unacceptable and unpopular to choose to become a cop or border guard. Civil and other forms of disobedience would be widely enough practiced that those engaged in it could tacitly assume that there will be broad undercover support for it and other revolutionary activities, as occurred in, for example, East Germany in the late 1980s.

Friday afternoon, all participants attended one of several caucuses, where activists discussed the role of identity in organizing work and strategy. The themes of these sessions were decided by the participants themselves, and included caucuses ranging from young activists of color to whites confronting white supremacy in the movement. Saturday's plenaries and workgroups encouraged participants to talk about their own experiences in the movement, incorporating feedback from Friday's caucuses. Several of these

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# THE WORLD CONFERENCE AGAINST RACISM

## Some Dangerous Political Thoughts

By Lorenzo Komboa Ervin

### THE FIGHT FOR REPARATIONS

The theme of reparations for the illegal trans-Atlantic slave trade and the enslavement of millions of Africans in the "New World," and for European colonialism of the African continent was a predominant theme at this conference. This demand for financial reparations, as well as a formal apology, was stated quite forcefully by the African and African Descendants NGO caucus, especially by Africans from America, and the theme was picked upon by the African countries who had formed a bloc to demand reparations from the European Union, and countries active in the slave trade like Spain, England, Portugal, Britain, Holland and others. Slavery was described as a "crime against humanity," and demands were for development funds to rebuild Africa, since Europe as a technologically developed and industrial-based economy was built off the sweat and blood of the peoples of Africa. The European Union, however, was extremely resistant to this characterization of its oppression of the continent, realizing that this would

open itself up to litigation if it admitted guilt, not to mention expose the historical crimes of developing white capitalist governments in its desire for markets, cheap labor and free material resources. The plunder by Europe was real, just as the enslavement, rape and murder of millions of Africans in the Americas has been documented. But one thing that became readily apparent at this conference is that Europe and the West will not give up their stolen wealth without a fight, regardless of who knows their criminal history.

### NEOCOLONIALISM CREATES EQUIVOCATION BY AFRICAN STATES

The conference was further limited in what it could produce as far as progress in securing reparations is because the African heads of state were proven to be so weak because of a neo-colonial relationship with the West, especially American capitalist institutions like the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, WTO and others. This dependent financial status means that the economies of these African countries are subordinate to France, the US, Britain and others – the same as always, and shows us that they are not reliable

allies in a struggle to challenge the capitalist world system about the living conditions for Black workers and the poor. They started out with demands for reparations, but before it was over they were down on their knees and begging for development aid and capitalist investments, thus condoning more robbery by the same group of international exploiters and the continued domination of the South by the North. No doubt the irony of this dawned on others as well.



A solidarity demo in California demanding reparations and an end to US racism

## UN Hijacks WCAR...

continued from page 1

prevent demonstrations and disruptions on the floor of the conference during the event, and certainly it would be much easier to deal with attorneys or professional NGO staff who believe in the system, than poor folks demanding a new deal entirely.

### RESTRICTIONS ON THE MEDIA

The requests for media credentials to cover the WCAR that Lorenzo Komboa Ervin and I made was initially denied because we are not paid, full-time journalists. In the complaint that I filed with the UN's media accreditation office, I accused the UN of engaging in censorship by limiting media access to the WCAR to mainstream news organizations. I published my complaint on the Internet and sent it to several independent news groups and organizations of professional journalists. Not surprisingly, we found out that we were not the only independent journalists who had been denied media credentials. Thousands of journalists applied for credentials to the WCAR, but a policy to restrict access to "bona fide" journalists was used to exclude most of the alternative media.

We were finally able to get our credentials, but the UN refused to accredit many other non-mainstream journalists and alternative news organizations, including the Independent Media Center and Human Rights Features. HRF published a daily newspaper for the NGO/WCAR. Yet, HRF was denied media credentials because the UN said it was an NGO only, and not a news publication. To their credit, the editors and staff of HRF courageously published anyway, without UN sanction. Thanks to the newspaper's coverage, delegates, observers and journalists received alternative news about the internal workings of the conference that they may otherwise not have known about.

### SELL-OUT BY UN COMMISSIONER

Two days before the WCAR officially ended on Sept. 7, UN High Commissioner Mary Robinson said she would not recommend the NGO conference declaration to delegates and that the declaration would not be an official U.N. document. Robinson's reason was the use of "hateful" language charging Israel with being an apartheid state and engaging in genocide against the Palestinian people. According to some delegates, on the last day of the conference, Robinson told them she was "tired" of explaining why she would not endorse the declaration. To discourage further questions about the issue, she brought 10 security guards with her, the delegates said.

The principled thing for Robinson to have done would have been make her criticisms but still present the declaration, including the "hateful" language, to the conference, and let the delegates vote. Instead, Robinson acted like a dictator and used her position to sabotage the work of the delegates. It was an outrageous sell-out.

Those who accused the Palestinians and their supporters of "hijacking" the conference got it all wrong. From the beginning, the conference was hijacked by UN bureaucrats. The watered-down document that was adopted did not reflect the views of the majority of NGO delegates, who supported the Palestinian struggle for self-determination and condemned Israel, demanded full reparations for slavery and colonialism, an apology and recognition of slavery as a crime against humanity. News reports claiming that the document and the NGO forum "reeked of anti-semitism" (as one US newspaper put it) is a total mischaracterization by the US and other Western media of what actually occurred at the conference. The "excuse" of the US and Israeli delegations in withdrawing from the conference were totally fabricated and designed to create a sense of panic and slander conference participants.

The two-day General Strike of millions of South African workers, and the demonstration by the Durban Social Forum on Aug. 31, the first day of the conference, shows a way forward. A movement against capitalism, and its exploitation in America, and a Black freedom movement with its mind on total liberation is where we should be going. Certainly we cannot accept financial reparations as a full settlement of our claims against the U.S. and European governments, but they must be part of a comprehensive liberation agenda. Reparations alone will not make us free or self-governing in either America or Africa. There is no easy path to freedom.

### CONTINUING CRIMES OF GENOCIDE

The biggest failing of the conference was its unwillingness to charge the Western powers (especially the US) with genocide, oppression and exploitation in the *current period* and then building movements to fight racism and neo-colonialism. As the conference's focus was on historical forms of slavery and exploitation, there was virtually no real discussion about building a mass movement to fight racism and the capitalist system which upholds it. The few discussions held didn't talk about building any form of grassroots campaigns, but instead counseled us to rely on the South African Human Rights Commission, the UN, or other governmental bodies in our host countries. They proposed strategies of about legal complaints, lobbying, and the "proper way" of appealing to heads of state. What they intentionally didn't mention was how the poor and racially oppressed can build an international direct action protest movement to destabilize the international capitalist system and really win concessions on reparations from host governments and multinational corporations, beat back privatization, police brutality, poverty and other social ills. We clearly need a new fight back movement worldwide, not just another group of slick lawyers among the oppressed peoples who will then rise up to oppress their own as agents of the rich themselves. We cannot fight for partial gains, and then leave these capitalist bloodsuckers alive with their system intact.

### POWERLESSNESS OF THE NGO'S, AND THE NEED FOR A NEW INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT

This conference showed how weak NGOs are and how subordinate they are to governments, (although some argument can be made about Africans from America continuing to organize after the U.S. withdrawal). Neither the UN bureaucrats or government officials showed any respect for us, treating us like children or cattle, including dumping us in a huge cricket stadium to meet in tents, while the bureaucrats and government officials met in air conditioned comfort inside the International Convention Center, normally a meeting site for business trade shows.

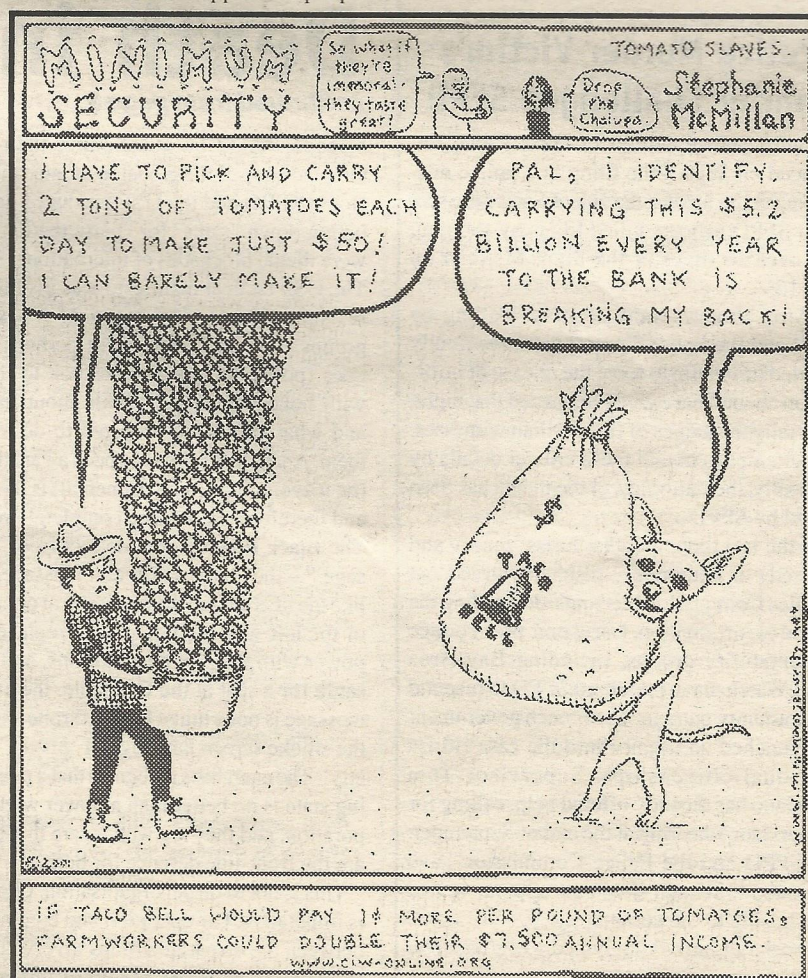
The NGOs and various oppressed peoples

need to organize independently of the governments and the UN system and in their own interest. They must build a more powerful movement inside and outside the United Nations system. They must and should preserve the international platform at the United Nations, but should demand dual power, that is, some form of *power sharing*, rather than being mere subjects of a national government or human rights lobby like the UN. We need a mass international organization against racism, colonialism, caste oppression, gender/sexual oppression, and various other forms of oppression which were exposed at the WCAR, therefore we need some basis of unity to fight for each other's agenda. We need a broad-based movement that can unite with anti-globalization and liberation forces. Black community organizations, student groups, workers and others to transform society, not just reform the UN system.

We saw the beginning of this new movement with the Durban Social Forum demonstration on the first day of the World Conference Against Racism, when 20,000 rank-and-file union organizers, land reformers, anti-capitalists, supporters of the liberation of Palestine and anti-racists from various countries came together for a mass anti-government/anti-capitalist protest at the International Convention Center, where the WCAR was being held. A new grassroots movement has been created, which many believe will reshape South African politics forever. But to keep it from descending into the pit of opportunism and sectarianism, it must be a primarily anti-authoritarian movement, rather than a political party of would-be and professional politicians, or members of the upper classes.

Such a direct action movement on an international level could more effectively deal with UN officials and national governments, and not only compel respect for a radical agenda, but lead to actual power-sharing for the NGO's. Only a few well-connected NGO's who served on the International steering Committee even knew what happening at the conference, and they kept that knowledge largely to themselves. The ISC and the host NGO abruptly changed the agenda without notification or explanation. An international NGO federation could bring an end to the kind of abuses we witnessed at the WCAR and open the process to the masses of affected peoples all over the world. It could also make sure that we are never disrespected again by UN bureaucrats, and that the government officials will not be able to sell us out. We have to use the UN just like we do any other institution; to fight for our rights to survive and live in freedom, to build international alliances and to let the world know of the crimes of government and capitalism.

JoNina M. Abron and Lorenzo Komboa Ervin were delegates from the Southwest Michigan Coalition Against Racism and Police Brutality based in Kalamazoo, Michigan at the Non-Governmental Forum of the WCAR where they were accredited journalists.





## NEWS BRIEFS

### Bus Riders Union Wins Victory in L.A.

In a major defeat for the Metropolitan Transportation Authority in Los Angeles, a federal appeals court on Aug. 31 ordered the transit agency to buy hundreds of new buses to relieve overcrowding throughout LA County.

In a strongly worded 2-1 ruling, the appeals court found that the MTA has failed to comply with a landmark October 1996 consent decree intended to limit the number of passengers who are forced to stand while riding on the agency's buses. The suit came in part by efforts by the local riders union.

"This is such a tremendous victory for civil rights," said Cynthia Rojas, a Bus Riders Union organizer. "The significance of it goes beyond the streets of Los Angeles."

### Colorado Activists Fight to Free Anti-Sweatshop Campaigners

Denver-area activists are appealing nationally for the freedom of two veteran activists incarcerated for standing up to a grand jury.

As part of an ongoing investigation surrounding a case of property damage at a Kohl's clothing store on Dec. 9, 2000 the Jefferson County District Attorney's office established a grand jury and issued subpoenas to local activist Doug Bohm and former Denver Justice and Peace Committee director David Martin to testify.

Bohm was found in contempt of court in May and was taken into custody for "failing to follow a court order that involved his testimony before a grand jury." Martin was taken into custody in June, although prosecutors have admitted that he is not a suspect in the investigation regarding the property damage.

For information, contact Free Speech Defense Committee, 3533 Tejon, Denver, CO 80211, or email bigskillet@mindspring.com.

### Political Prisoner Denied Parole

In a move that surprised nobody, Kathy Boudin was denied early release on August 22.

Boudin, an early member of the Weather Underground, was a passenger in a get-away van during the 1981 Brinks expropriation attempt in New York. She was arrested, unarmed, at a police roadblock minutes after the robbery, and later was the only suspect to plead guilty.

During her 20 years in prison, Boudin, now 58, has been praised for creating programs for incarcerated mothers and AIDS victims, and helped inmates enroll in college classes. But relatives of the slain policemen and bank guard predictably dominated the media debate over the question of parole. Boudin will next receive a parole hearing in two years.

### Police Murder Victim's Family Challenges SFPD

Family and supporters of Idriss Stelley announced on Sept. 5 the filing of a police misconduct claim against the city of San Francisco. Eight SFPD officers killed Idriss by shooting him over 20 times at the Sony Metreon on June 12.

After three months of stone-walling by SFPD and the Police Commission, the family has filed this claim to force the release of information about what exactly happened that night, especially the names of five civilian witnesses. Any attempt to obtain these critical details by the family, their attorney, or the media has been denied by SFPD.

In the last three months, Idriss' family and hundreds of community residents turned out at Police Commission meetings, demanding the release of information. Local non-profit police accountability groups, including Bay Area PoliceWatch, have pressured SFPD to respond to community outrage. The French government has launched an inquiry into the case (Idriss held dual-citizenship). Supervisor Tom Ammiano has recently offered help, calling for a supervisor's hearing at the end of September. But SFPD and the Police Commission have continued to remain silent, uncooperative and even hostile to the community.

Check out <http://sf.indymedia.org/features/police/> for more information.

## Walk the Walk in Denver...

# Transform Columbus Day

By Pavlos Stavropoulos

### WHERE IS THE COLOR?

Ever since the 1999 anti-WTO protests in Seattle, anti-globalization activists have been lamenting the rather transparent whiteness of this new movement. "We need to have more people of color join us," goes the typical cry. The desire to create a movement truly representative of the world is, of course, quite admirable and should be encouraged. But such an attitude ignores the significant contributions that people of color have made to this movement and to the impetus of its formation. More importantly, it is the same colonialist and imperialist attitude we claim to be fighting against. Despite good motives, the underlying assumption in such a cry is that "we" (whites/peoples of the north) have finally done the right thing, except that "we" need to get "them" (people of color/of the south) to come and join us under "our" big banner. That this has not taken place indicates the failure of such an assumption, not a lack of outreach.

"Congratulations, you are now all niggers," said an African-American activist to some of us after Seattle. The message was loud and clear. The treatment that we received in the streets was nothing new, for communities of color. What was new was the fact that it was delivered to more privileged sectors of society as well as its usual targets. And it got front-page publicity. "Will this make it more likely that you will join us next time?" came the follow-up question. But the answers to that are so obvious, the question need not have been asked. While those of us who hold various degrees of privilege can retreat to the protection that this privilege allows, poor communities and communities of color cannot. One of the most positive aspects of the last year and a half is that such retreat has not taken place. The increasing surveillance, repression and COINTELPRO tactics that have been deployed by the State against this new movement is ample evidence that we are moving forward. Yet, the question of when "they" will join "us" begs the real question: When are "we" going to join "them"?

While this anti-globalization movement may be new, the struggle against globalization is not. Communities of color have engaged in active resistance to colonialism, imperialism and globalization long before Seattle and will continue to do so for as long as is necessary. Those communities who are at its front line have been organizing and fighting for decades and centuries. It is the height of arrogance to expect them to join "us," to mimic "our" tactics and "our" rhetoric. So, when are we going to join them?

DENVER, CO, OCTOBER 5-8TH, 2001

For the first time since Seattle, an action of international scale is being organized by communities of color. And this time the target is not a meeting of an agency such as WTO or IMF but the very legacy and historical processes that have brought us globalization.

During the 15th century the imperial powers of Europe were engaging in the first round of globalization. The so-called Age of Discovery was nothing more than an age of expansion of European imperial power and European commercial routes. October 12th, 1492 Christopher Columbus brought this process of globalization to the shores of Turtle Island, what would later become known as the Americas. In opposing all celebrations of Columbus and Columbus Day, we oppose the very foundation of globalization, both in its historical and current manifestations.

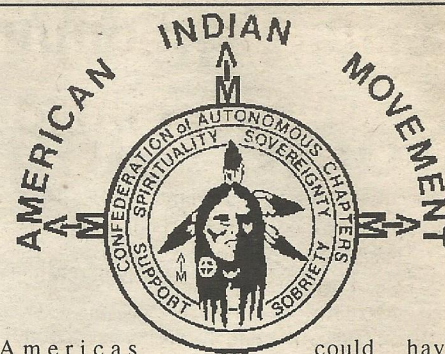
The corporate media and the powers-that-be have gone to great lengths in portraying the protests against the Columbus Day celebrations here in Denver as nothing more than a spat between Indians and Italians. Yet, even a cursory look at what is really going on will quickly reveal the true nature of the issue, and the reasons why those who hold power would like to conceal it.

While Native American and Chicano communities have been at the forefront of this struggle they are far from the only participants. And while there are those who would like to depict the anti-Columbus protests as anti-Italian there have been as many Italians and Italian-Americans fighting against Columbus as have been willing to honor and celebrate a man who made his living as a slave trader and who unleashed a wave of slaughter, exploitation and genocide that almost eradicated the inhabitants of this hemisphere.



The real issue, however, is not Indians vs. Italians, or even Columbus the man. While Columbus was far from an innocent bystander in the globalization of his times (a reading of his own journals as well as accounts of his contemporaries show him to be a willing and active participant), the real issue is the Columbus legacy.

The American Indian Movement of Colorado states why they oppose Columbus Day celebrations: "When Taino Indians saved Christopher Columbus from certain death on the fateful morning of Oct. 12, 1492, a glorious opportunity presented itself. The cultures of Europe and the



Americas could have merged and the beauty of both races could have flourished. Unfortunately, what occurred was neither beautiful nor heroic. Just as Columbus could not, and did not, 'discover' a hemisphere that was already inhabited by nearly 100 million people, his arrival cannot, and will not, be recognized as a heroic and celebratory event by indigenous peoples.<sup>1</sup>

Columbus's arrival cannot, and will not, be recognized as a heroic and celebratory event by anyone. If the beauty of humanity is to flourish then we must understand and actively oppose the Columbus legacy. The choice that fateful morning was clear: Do two peoples join together in mutual respect, enjoying the riches of this continent? Or does one side unleash unspeakable horror and destruction on the other, all in the name of progress and trade?

Five hundred and nine years later things haven't changed much. Queen Isabella and her gallant navigator are still with us. And those who have chosen beauty and freedom over slaughter and exploitation are still fighting against them.

In Denver, we are not only opposing the Columbus legacy but actively transforming it. In building a multi-cultural and multi-racial alliance "dedicated to the transformation of the Columbus holiday from a hateful, racist holiday that celebrates conquest and domination to a respectful celebration that calls for a future for the Ameri-

cas without racism, exploitation, or state/corporate domination"<sup>2</sup> we are offering the world a glimpse of what it would look like if the other choice had been made 509 years ago. We call on all people to join us in body and spirit in October in actively stopping and reversing the Columbus legacy by protecting and affirming all that is beautiful in humanity and the earth.

<sup>1</sup> "Why the American Indian Movement of Colorado Opposes Columbus Day and Columbus Day Parades"

<sup>2</sup> "Transform Columbus Day Alliance Principles: Our Common Ground"

For more information, see [www.transformcolumbusday.org](http://www.transformcolumbusday.org) or e-mail [info@transformcolumbusday.org](mailto:info@transformcolumbusday.org)

Pavlos Stavropoulos is a Denver activist. This essay does not necessarily represent the views of the Transform Columbus Day Alliance and its members. Contact him at [pavlosds@aigis.com](mailto:pavlosds@aigis.com)

## Death in the Family...

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brigade should be questioning their own attempted coup of the global resistance movement. Both INPEG and the GSF produced documents laying down "rules" for "participation" in what were illegal blockades of international meetings. The GSF tactical manifesto was insulting to the resistance history of many of its signatory groups. The anarchists were perhaps the only ones (police included) who took to the streets with honest intentions, both about their goals and what they were prepared to do to achieve them. Anarchists have long been aware that power (be it economic or governmental) is the problem and therefore needs to be completely rethought. The Black Bloc do not "detract from 'the message'" – they have a different message. And unlike the liberals and the hierarchical organizations of the left who would, at best, replace those in power with their own institutions, and at worst, settle for a seat at the G-8 table, the anarchist's message is not a lunge for the throne shrouded in the smoke screen language of 'justice' and 'liberty'. The anarchists recognise that a power wielding state is no better than a power wielding corporation, and they are well aware that the police are the front-line defence for both.

This is not to dispel organisation. Organisation is imperative. Co-operation and communication between the disparate groups involved in the resistance is key. The strength of this movement

has always been its popular power, its constantly changing strategy, its unpredictable tactics and targets. This is why the authorities (until now) have found it so hard to get a handle on what we were up to – we weren't following patterns or playing by any discernible rules. As we witnessed in Genoa, they have caught up. Infiltration is the price of protesting-by-numbers. Though Italy was an ideal venue for us to mobilise an unprecedented number of insurrectionaries, it was also an ideal setting for the global authorities who could mobilise one of the West's most corrupt, right wing and violent state security forces. Recent history has shown the Italian security services are prepared to stoop to anything in order to undermine subversive movements. Genoa proved they haven't lost their touch.

James Anon wrote on Indymedia that if the nonviolent protesters came up with something that worked maybe more people would adopt their tactics. However, non-violence should not be confused with not rocking the boat – as often appears to be the case. Those who feel the 'violent anarchists' are curbing their successes should maybe look at how successful their own tactics are. It is no coincidence that Tony Blair "welcomes" peaceful calls for debt reform – the communiqués are duly issued, the lip service paid, and then nothing changes, and the global carve-up getting mapped in the White House doesn't miss a step.

Maybe time within the 'movement' would be better spent skipping the anarchist witch-hunt and focusing on our common enemies. One of the more eye opening moments in Genoa came when the non-violent protesters and the Black Bloc crossed paths. An anarchist bloc had tried to cross the Piazza Manin en route to the red zone, where the white-handed pacifists in the square refused to let them pass. Discussions between the two groups were interrupted by a vicious police attack during which the pacifists sat down hands aloft and took a severe beating without fighting back (as is their prerogative). However an hour later when three masked youths walked back through the square the (understandably upset) pacifists threw a stick, bottle and a rock at them. They saw the Black Bloc as the cause for their pain. No violence had been directed at the police wielding the boots, the clubs and the tear gas, but strict pacifist adherence could be suspended in order to attack anyone (without authority) who had not stuck to their tactical code. Perhaps this pacifist submission to authority says more about the authoritarian nature of the society they seek, than about their abhorrence of the Black Bloc's tactics.

The rats inside the global red zone want us to crawl back to our workplaces, to the fear of unemployment and the gratitude of an irregular paycheck. But we can say no. We can say: we do not care how well protected you are with your armies, your police, your banks or your brands,

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# Crime as Commodity: the American Correctional Association Met with Protests in Philly

By Casey Boland

Mike didn't come to school that Wednesday. I noticed him in that summer school class right away. He seemed the smartest, but also the class bully. One of my fellow teacher interns confided in me: "Mike isn't here today because his dad is being sent to prison for drugs." As the American Correctional Association "congress" was about to unfold in this city of Philadelphia, I witnessed first-hand in the classroom how the criminal injustice system, as well as the government's skewed priorities, affect the individuals who bear the brunt of this brutal system.

Since the early 1980s, the number of kindergarten to twelfth grade teachers being hired fell by 8%. The number of prison guards hired rose 250%.<sup>1</sup>

From Aug. 12- 16, 2001, the American Correctional Association held its 131<sup>st</sup> "Congress of Correction in the heart of the city of brotherly love. The ACA and other organizations in the so-called "corrections" sector don't correct anything. Nevertheless, the ACA drew thousands to its Congress, though not all of them were inside the Convention Center.

While various outfits of the prison industry hawked their wares and prison industry aficionados attended workshops inside, a determined coalition of concerned citizens gathered outside to loudly protest and condemn an industry that profits on the enslavement of millions of others. A counter conference, marches, vigils, street theater and other events stood as reminders to the ACA and anyone within view or earshot that not all Americans will stand for the expansion and glorification of the prison industrial complex.

## Genoa and Protest...

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rubber-ducky flotation devices, helmets and their signature chemical-proof white jumpsuits to create what Italian activists call a "new language" of direct action. Where once the only choice seemed to be between Gandhian pacifism or outright insurrection with nothing in between. Ya Basta! has been trying to invent a completely new territory. They eschew any action that would cause harm to people or property (usually), but do everything possible to avoid arrest or injury.

Ya Basta! – which began as a Zapatista solidarity group but has since evolved into a political network linking dozens of squats and social centers in major Italian cities – combines innovative tactics and an increasingly broad and sophisticated set of demands. To the usual calls for direct democracy, the leitmotif of the "anti-globalization" movement everywhere, they've made three major additions: a principle of global citizenship entailing the elimination of all controls over freedom of movement in the world (Ya Basta! especially has targeted immigration detention facilities); a universally guaranteed "basic income" to replace programs like welfare and unemployment (originally derived from the French MAUSS group); and free access to new technologies – in effect, extreme limits to the enforcement of intellectual property rights. (Most Americans assume these ideas derive from Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri's book Empire, but in fact, they got



photo from www.indymedia.org

The number of schools being built rose 2.6%. The number of lock-ups constructed rose 200%.

The ACA is among the more visible components of the prison industrial complex, a sector entailing a vast network of diverse companies whose service is in some way serve to keep people in bondage. It involves a massive intertwining of business and government, economics and politics. The corporate-owned mass media exists in between as the obedient and ever-faithful lapdog. As Christian Parenti sagely illustrates in his vital work *Lockdown America*, the politicians, prison industry, law enforcers and media work together in a symbiotic relationship whose purpose is the dissemination of pro-oppression crime crackdown dis-information to the public on all matters related to crime and punishment. The politicians pass the laws and justify the use

of tax dollars as the police get more technology and materials, while the media air the sensational story of the week depicting murders and robberies. Yet what they aren't telling us speaks louder than what they are telling us. According to reputable statistics, violence makes up a small portion of reported crime in the U.S. Bodily harm occurs in a mere 3 percent of reported crime. Nearly two thirds of all inmates are behind those bars for infractions involving nonviolent crimes. One in four of those are locked up for drug crimes. Curiously enough, we rarely if ever hear about a war on white-collar crime.

As Eve Goldberg and Linda Evans reported, "Like fear of communism during the Cold War, fear of crime is a great selling tool for a dubious product."

As Western capitalist countries cruise full speed ahead on a crash course of total privatization annihilation, private prisons spread like wild fire. The poor and the non-white are burned most. The Correctional Corporation of America now operates internationally. Given the exorbitant cost of running a prison, privatization stands as the optimum alternative to state-run incarceration facilities. Five percent (100,000) of the prison population sits behind bars in privately owned prisons. The average cost per day of an inmate is 43 cents. Prisoners are commodities. Hence, it is desirable for the private-prison companies to streamline costs. The prisoner suffers the consequences of capitalism. Even worse: there is no accountability in private prisons.

Prison labor is an integral part of this system of oppression. By employing a work force lacking the right to organize and not having to pay health insurance, many businesses smell the sweet scent of profit. They enlist the labor of inmates to create their product or use their services. Prisoners are paid 14-22 cents an hour, maybe more, probably less, for an average of \$40 a month. They have their own clothing line with "Prison Blues" blue jeans. They sew underwear for Victoria's Secret, put together computers for Microsoft, make parts for TWA, create coffee cups for Starbucks. When they make a call, they pay three times the cost of a street pay phone plus a \$3 surcharge thanks to MCI. This leads to competition with private, non-prison industries, making the prison market more attractive.

Despite the prison construction boom, the rising chorus of good, red-blooded, God-fearing Americans clamoring for more cops and more jails, the reports of more crime and more killing – crime rates have fallen steadily since 1992. But mandatory sentencing for drug crimes, three strikes legislation and "truth in sentencing" have fueled the prison machine. These policies do little more than criminalize the poor and the non-white, especially African Americans. Not only does it lock up Black people, it turns their neighborhoods into police states under martial law (which is not uncommon thing in the economically depressed, un-white sections of Philadelphia, such as North and West Philly).

The ACA rests comfortably at the heart of this sordid system.

The number of kids graduating high school fell 2.7%. The number of people in prison rose 400%.

The American Correctional Association de-

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## NEWS BRIEFS

### Reparations conference explores race

On Black Solidarity Weekend, Nov. 2-4, 2001, the first Reparations Education and Mobilization Conference will explore how the demand for reparations explodes the racist status quo and its institutional manifestation.

The conference has as its primary agenda to organize, to build a united front and a worldwide strategic alliance of peoples of African descent, oppressed people and all progressive forces united to make the world a place where all humanity can live with dignity, respect and in genuine peace.

See <http://www.murchisoncenter.org/reparations> for updates and information.

### Tennessee Earth First! activists blockade TDOT

The entrance to the Strawberry Plains Regional Tennessee Department of Transportation Headquarters was blockaded by approximately 18 Earth First! activists on Aug. 24 as part of an ongoing campaign to stop the building and expansion of Tennessee roads.

The blockade began at 6:15 am with a slogan-ridden car positioned in the middle of the entrance road to block admission to the building. Two women were locked down inside, rendering the car immovable.

After being threatened with pepper spray, Snead and Shumate unlocked from the vehicle and at least 12 police cars, a fire truck, and two ambulances were on sight. Both Snead and Shumate were charged with obstruction of justice, criminal trespass, and disorderly conduct.

TDOT is currently spending \$36,000,000 to expand 2.6 miles of Highway 321, in Gatlinburg, TN. The expansion of Highway 321 is destroying the northern boundary of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, the most endangered park in the United States.

### Motorists score judgment over surveillance

In what seems to be another salvo in the battle against policing by surveillance, a San Diego, Calif. judge dismissed 300 tickets after motorists banded together to fight the citations.

Judge Ronald Styn of San Diego County Superior Court said the camera evidence was inadmissible because a private corporation's role in the operation of the system and its per-ticket collection of fees violated state law.

San Diego's system, which snaps a photo of a red-light runner and mails a \$271 citation to the registered owner of the vehicle, is the target of two civil lawsuits that could end the program and refund money to 84,000 people who have received the tickets since 1998.

Police in over 50 U.S. cities use cameras to record drivers going through red lights and similar traffic violations. Activists have long been concerned with the accuracy of the cameras, privacy of motorists and private firms seeking to cash in.

### Arizona campaign urges Fee Demo resistance

Arizona organizers are calling on people to refuse payment of Fee Demo charges. Over 200 groups have thus far signed on to the campaign.

In 1996, the U.S. Congress passed the Omnibus Appropriations Act of 1996. This bill contained a rider – a non-debated piece of legislation – that created the Recreational Fee Demonstration Program (Fee Demo). The Forest Service administers the Adventure Pass and the Northwest Forest Pass as part of Fee Demo. The lands affected by the rest of Fee Demo include all 533 million acres of the Department of Agriculture Forest Service, and Department of Interior Bureau of Land Management and Fish and Wildlife Service and some 90 million acres of the Department of Interior National Park Service. Together this makes up nearly one third of the land mass of the US.

Corporate lobbyists of the recreation industry drove the idea through Congress to gain managerial control of public lands to cash in on the "commodity" value of walks in the woods, sunsets and scenic vistas. Fee Demo not only allows the charging of fees, but also lets private entities design and invest in the fee programs.



# Kent State...

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Confrontations escalated between students and cops. Late in the evening a stand off between students and local and state police ultimately turned fatal. After a bottle was broken (dropped or thrown, no one is sure,) police opened fire. James Earl Green, 17, and Phillip Lafayette Gibbs, 21, were both shot and killed; 12 other students were struck by the bullets, and many more were injured by broken glass as the police fired not only into the crowd outside, but through the windows of the nearby dorm.

The deaths of Green and Gibbs did not receive the justified anger, the mass student strikes, the controversy that compelled Richard Nixon to proclaim the days after Kent State among the worst of his presidential career. Silence was the voice of the racism of the mainstream media, the anti-war movement and the general public. The Jackson State shootings and public reaction illuminate the connections and tensions between the anti-war and civil rights movements of the 60s. These connections were too messy, complicated and implicating for white-dominated organizations, whether media or movement, to examine too closely. Within the pathology of white supremacy, white life is simply worth more than the lives of people of color, and white deaths are more shocking.

Indeed, white supremacy still flourishes and holds white people's lives at more value than others, both inside and outside of social movements. On June 26, 2001, four protesters were killed and seventeen wounded during protests against the IMF in Point Moresby, Papua New Guinea, during a five-day blockade of federal buildings by approximately 3,000 students and workers. Little media attention was given to these deaths in the US and much of the US movement remains ignorant that these murders even happened. In fact, in researching these murders we were unable to even find the names of our slain comrades.

In this sense the globalization movement still carries with us, unsurprisingly, much of the anti-war movement: its US-centricity and its racism. The movement has not done enough to challenge the workings of white supremacy within and outside of our ranks. That blood was spilled in Papua New Guinea and met with near indifference gives a cold and undeniable truth to that. We will not, nor should we, gain widespread support and build mass movement for global justice until white privilege and supremacy are dismantled to the extent possible for a movement existing within a neo-imperialist, white supremacist nation. That such issues as property destruction have received so much internal attention and been subject to movement debate while attempts to attack movement racism have been generally marginalized and/or tokenized paints a dangerous picture. White-dominated movements build white power, not global resistance nor revolutionary worlds.

While Kent State was a galvanizing event in the United States,

perhaps shocking many outside the anti-war movement into sympathy, Giuliani's murder in Genoa has not elicited a similar response. This is due in part because of the lack of tangibility of the anti-globalization movement's goals to those outside the movement.

Stop the draft, and, more broadly, stop the war, are objectives easier to grasp than to stop the G8. Most people in the United States were probably not even aware such a group existed until the demonstrations occurred and resulted in a night or two of gory news coverage. While revealing that these economic puppeteers are around is one of the points of such demonstrations, what they do and why is still blurry as hell. Even those within the movement, though certain of not only the injustice of these anti-democratic institutions but also the systems from which they are born, may find themselves at a loss when attempting to explain what exactly they do. This is largely due to the secrecy under which these institutions operate, as well as how enmeshed they are within the nuances of world economic trade. The war was obviously a national issue of public concern, and everybody knew it was occurring – though perhaps not the details of exactly what was happening and why. The possibilities of alternatives to capitalism are invisibilized and whether to support this economic system is a non-issue. It is hardly a matter of public debate.

The context in which the murder in Genoa occurred was one of perceived stagnancy versus the time of perceived possibility and chaos that was the 60's. Kent State happened not long after 1968, a year of global uprising and massive political disruption. For example, students and workers declared a general strike and paralyzed France. Within the United States, each day brought news coverage of new upheaval and unrest. In this year alone, both Martin Luther King, Jr. and Robert F. Kennedy were assassinated. These times were indicative of both potential transformation and great national fear. Today, within the U.S., we do not experience such high profile and broadly effecting political events that create situations in which anything seems possible, be it the revolution or the apocalypse. Fundamental change is felt an impossibility and demonstrators are not met with questions of what they will change, but only perhaps the unproductive violence they will "create" and how much they will inconvenience commuters. The deeply entrenched status quo seems immutable.

The fact that Genoa demonstrations occurred overseas also contributes to the lack of widespread U.S. attention. In fact, by

Sunday's weekly wrap-up, the protest and murder were nothing but an interesting footnote in U.S. media. While the current mode of mainstream news is that of an accelerated profit-driven business, exploiting then abandoning stories, the fact that this horror occurred in Italy facilitated a disconnect. Carlo's death was explicitly contextualized by the news within recent – mostly U.S. located – demonstrations. So were the escalating tactics of demonstrators requiring police discipline. However, the murderous behavior of the Italian cops was not. The subtext of these reports was that such disorderly and problematic resolutions to social unrest occur "over there." To make the story more exciting to U.S. viewers, the fireworks of the demonstrations were directly linked to those at demonstrations here, but without linking the deadly police response. To do so would implicate law enforcement in the United States more than was necessary. It would also implicate the citizens of this country beyond pure voyeurism.

While Carlo's murder generated a brief flurry of U.S. media excitement, the story lacked the emotional weight for the public that the Kent State killings did. The Kent State murders were so jarring partly because they smashed both a sense of security felt by those both within and outside the academy, and the notion of the sanctity of the university. Demonstrations by students, whether one supported them or not, could be seen as on the continuum of free debate and expression that was theoretically a cornerstone of academic life. Such security was compounded by the privileged locations of academics. Students for whom police violence is not a personal reality may feel a sense of entitlement to expression of their views, and lack of fear that there could be truly dangerous results to such expression. This naiveté was characteristic of the 60s student anti-war movement, and stands in direct contrast to the sometimes over-lapping civil rights movement. The student movement enjoyed a measure of safety, not only because it was based on the safe zone of the campus but because of white, classed privilege.

The civil rights movement took to the culturally-constructed unsafe zone of the streets and was led by Black people who did not as a group benefit from the same privileges, and could not afford to enjoy the same naiveté, as the students. People within the civil rights movement regularly encountered police violence, there was not the option to have a loss-of-innocence event.

These splits highlight some of the strengths and weaknesses of the current anti-capitalist globalization movement, which has much in common with both the civil rights and student anti-war movements of the 1960s. Though there are many white students involved, it is not a student movement. The locations of demonstrations are not campuses but the streets. The U.S. segment of the

movement clearly suffers from white-centricity, with high-profile factions and events entrenched in white domination. With this comes the cloud of privilege that disrupts effective organiza-

tion and facilitates a (sometimes false, sometimes not) sense of security amongst activists who may not occupy marginalized and oppressed locations. In general, however, factions of the movement today who engage in street activism are less wide-eyed and innocent than those in the 60s student movement, as every mass mobilization (which, problematically, have been centralized in resistance only against capitalist globalization) has been met with escalating state violence. Mass numbers of demonstrators are regularly beaten and jailed, and for longer than just overnight. It's never a surprise when the cops show up and get rowdy.

The "good protester"/"bad protester" theme that has emerged in the media, the non-movement identified public, and the movement itself has also had explicit effects upon the impact of Genoa, deadening and differing it from Kent State. While variations on this theme thrived in the 60's and 70's as well, the Kent State victims were constructed as "good protesters." They were, so the story goes, non-violent, fleeing the approaching National Guard, who were later revealed to have planned to attack all along. They were privileged students, seen as innocents, "our children" to a degree – even in the specifically fear-and-distrust-infused, generation-gapped 60s. While lying politicians initially spun the event in a manner that allowed many to see the kids as having had it coming, students nation-wide mobilized effectively in protest.

While Europe was a different story, with major, continent-wide demonstrations of sorrow and rage following the murder of Giuliani, the reaction within the U.S. was more muted. Its important to remember that the Kent State 4 as individuals may not have been as scary to those invested in the system as Giuliani – they were "good protesters." They were white college kids, a random four students out of a massive crowd, one of whom was just heading to class and actually opposed the demonstrations. Maybe if some privileged Green party members had been taken down at a Rally 4 Ralph it would be comparable, but comrade Carlo was criminalized as an anarchist, blatantly opposing capitalism, and coming at the cops with a fire extinguisher. Never mind how much danger a fire extinguisher realistically poses to an armored police vehicle, Carlo has, in a sense, been constructed as the ultimate bad

protester paying the ultimate price. And within this ideology he clearly deserved to pay it. Even leftist periodical *In these Times* felt the need to editorialize on Carlo's "foolish"ness and how "terrified" the young cop was, after blasting

"violent" protesters for committing property destruction that "overshadowed" the bulk of the respectable demonstrators. The author attributes the murder to these factors, as well as the mistake of arming the cops with live ammunition rather than those lovely rubber bullets. While no less a man than W. has solemnly dubbed Carlo's death a tragedy, the mainstream remains unshocked and undisturbed. He definitely had it coming. Unfortunately, outside of certain circles, reaction internal to the U.S. movement itself

has been mixed at best, sometimes straying to the right of Bush's proclamation. In a scurry for respect, many have distanced themselves from Giuliani, condemned him, even extended sym-

pathy to the cops. There has been no massive public outrage and sorrow. Empathetic rage has become a casualty of "good protester"/"bad protester" politics.

In his book *SDS*, Kirkpatrick Sale reports that the reaction to Kent State within the U.S. was massive uproar and upheaval:

"The impact is only barely suggested by the statistics, but they are impressive enough. In the next four days, from May 5 to May 8, there were major campus demonstrations at a rate of more than 100 a day, students at a total of at least 350 institutions went on strike and 536 schools were shut down completely for some period of time, 51 of them for the entire year. More than half of the colleges and universities in the country (1,350) were ultimately touched by protest demonstrations, involving nearly 60% of the student population (nearly five million students) in every kind of institution and in every state in the union."

While there were protests in major cities across the U.S. following Giuliani's death, they were no where near the scale of those post-Kent State in terms of numbers of people involved or impact on business running as usual. Those who do not identify as part of the new movement or listen to Pacifica radio probably were not aware that there was any angry reaction at all.

Now, shortly after the murder, we run the risk of letting the mournful energy produced by the tragedy dissipate. Without unduly romanticizing Carlo Giuliani's life and death, without martyring him, we have the opportunity to honor him and all others fighting and sometimes dying in the war against what author bell hooks calls White Supremacist Capitalist Patriarchy. We can honor them by tapping into our righteous fury and funneling that emotion into action, by using this tragedy as a catalyst to expose the murder machine of global capitalism for what it is. We cannot let the public forget or gloss over the events of July 20. We are obligated as those driven by desire for a just world to fight like hell against the inevitable historical re-writing of the murder as anything other than what it was.

Kent State and Genoa were two very different chapters in histories of resistance, with very different aftermaths in the U.S. The fact that Carlo Giuliani's murder and those of other anti-capitalist globalization activists have not generated the outcry that Kent State ushered must spur us on to vital organizing. No death can go by unnoticed. We must build the mass movement for which we yearn and others have died.

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# Organizing the Barrios: A Model for the Developing World

By Kole, IMC Global

(GUAYAQUIL) - In major cities across Ecuador, such as Guayaquil, Esmeraldas and Quito, the urban poor are often self-organized in barrio committees in order to better press their demands for greater rights. The problem of urban poverty throughout the global South has been growing ever since uneven development strategies and the implementation of Green Revolution technologies displaced many farmers in the 1960s and 1970s. The problem is further exacerbated by growing disparities in development between various regions in developing countries.

For instance, Guayaquil quickly became Ecuador's largest city as a result of its growth as a major port and financial center in the country's increasingly globalized economy. The results are predictable: shantytowns known as suburbios or barrios, have rapidly grown around the outskirts of Ecuador's biggest city.

Travelling with a CUBE activist, referred to here as G, I had the opportunity of visiting two barrios in Guayaquil, known as Guasmo and Isla de la Trinidad respectively. CUBE is an organization made up of volunteers that seeks to assist in the strengthening of barrio organizations (which are essentially cooperatives organized by the inhabitants of these marginal regions to press for greater rights).



What I witnessed in Guasmo and Isla de la Trinidad can only be described as first rate examples of grass-roots democracy in action. In both barrios meetings were convened by the president of the barrio-committee to discuss the days events, the people's needs and how to go about meeting them. In Isla de la Trinidad the committee also discussed the blockade that they had organized on Wednesday to protest the governments policies and how they would continue pressing the district prefect for access to potable water. At both meetings G, the CUBE activist who served as my guide, gave impassioned speeches on the importance of the poor maintaining their unity and drawing links between government corruption and the people's poverty.

Not only was I witnessing an incredible example of the poor self-organizing themselves in order to better defend their rights, but I was also witnessing an incredible example of women activists being empowered through these movements. In both barrios women were presidents of their respective committees, and the overwhelming majority of present committee members at the meetings were women. The sad reality of these

barrios is that women bear the hardest burden of Ecuador's poverty in the last few years. In Guasmo, half the women belonging to the barrio committee were single mothers presiding over

small shacks housing up to 17 children.

The needs of these organizations are huge. In Isla de la Trinidad, the biggest problem is the lack of potable water. The poor are forced to BUY their water from private companies at 57 cents a tanker, which is a prohibitively high price for many of the families not "fortunate" enough to work on the docks at the nearby port, as informals working in the gray economy, or as maids for relatively better off families. Access to schooling and health care facilities is deplorable and the rates of infant mortality and illiteracy are the highest in the city in these regions. In Guasmo, I was told that there isn't a single thing that the barrio doesn't need. Windows, roofs, and doors were missing from most of the houses. This fact is made even worse, when one considers that in the winter, as the water level rises, the whole barrio is flooded resulting in the spread of unsanitary conditions.

Even the houses build by the government funded MINDUVI project, were more often than not incomplete. Although MINDUVI disposes of considerable resources, and is the primary source of channeling foreign aid to the poor, only about 30% of this organizations funds actually makes its way into the hands of the poorest. The rest is appropriated by the Ministry of Social Wellbeing and its functionaries. A logical strategy for foreign governments would be to directly fund the barrio committees, but this would mean supporting groups that insist on actively for-



Ecuadoran workers during recent general strike

warding a cooperative and anti-establishmentarian mode of living and that are far more loyal to radical anti-poverty groups like CUBE than to the government.

If you're able to provide any type of assistance to these barrio committees in order to meet their basic social needs, to strengthen access to basic services, or in assisting them to get their message

across, please contact one of the following organizations (please only call if you can really help, these organizations are sick of unfulfilled promises by aid organizations, politicians, and government representatives - note also that their members only speak Spanish):

CUBE (Coordinadora Unitaria Barrial de Ecuador)  
Guayas Province Chapter  
Jaime del Valle Miranda  
Tel. +59 34 848454

GUASMO BARRIO  
Comité Derechos de los Pobres  
President: Patricia Nieto Castro  
Phone: 011 59 34 485-956  
Area #1 - Guasmo-Sur

ISLA DE LA TRINIDAD BARRIO  
Comite Luchar y Vencer  
Presidenta Srta. Letty Munoz  
Tel. +59 34 497391

## ACA Protest...

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scribes itself as "a multidisciplinary organization of professionals at all levels of corrections and criminal justice." It includes as its members administrators and officers throughout all areas of the "corrections" system, educators, parole workers and others. It also represents companies involved in the prison industry, such as phone and construction companies, lobbying groups and prison guard unions. The ACA boasts 78 chapters in the U.S. with more than 20,000 members. The ACA considers itself an "umbrella organization" that offers a "broad base of expertise" to others in the industry.

Key to what the ACA does is accreditation, indicating if a prison meets national standards. Those standards are designed by the ACA. They are also the principal inspector of all "correctional" facilities across the nation, meaning they pull a lot of weight in the industry.

What goes on at these "congresses" the ACA holds twice a year? They span five days and showcase workshops and a trade show for the businesses they represent to proudly display and sell their merchandise. These conferences are a smorgasbord of schmoozing, a grand greasing of the palms of the wealthy and the powerful with the promise of profit. A profit that is earned on the backs of the poor locked up and deprived of any notion of rights or liberties. According to the ACA, 81% of sales occur at trade shows. The conference in Philly, expected to attract 5,000 attendees, was billed as "a great opportunity for companies to increase business and establish national and international industry contacts."

Among the many items and services on exhibition were body armor, closed circuit TV, computer software, construction management, detention equipment, footwear, furniture, ID systems, medical dental equipment, restraining de-

vices and uniforms. The vendors present were Alcoholics Anonymous, AT&T, Glaxo-Wellcome, the NRA, the Centers for Disease Control, Colgate-Palmolive, Hanes and many others."

Workshop topics included: Ethical, Legal and Clinical Aspects of Suicide; Identifying Mentally Ill Juveniles; Building Bridges Between Security, Treatment and Health Care: Effective Skills



Important to Effective Team-Building; Living Well So Your Job Doesn't Kill You; Technology and the Future of Corrections, and more.

Another delightful aspect of the convention was the student poster session and the job fair. All of this could have been yours for the price of a ticket: \$110-\$290. How could anyone pass the Congress up, especially when the ACA intones: "Don't let your company miss out on this prime, revenue-generating opportunity!"

**Spending on K-12 education rose 33.4%.  
Spending on incarceration went up 571.4%.**

Prior to the conference, ACA President Betty Adams Green and Executive Director James A. Gondles Jr. took out advertisements in local newspapers to dissuade the wave of activists collaborating and combining their energies and skills to oppose the ACA and all it represents.

Obviously the ACA's attempt to placate activists and concerned citizens - most of whom are critical of the mainstream media - through major news-media outlets, proved futile.

Hundreds of people gathered in the city of Philadelphia the week before the ACA's conference to organize and plan, pool their resources and share their knowledge, and prepare to say to the city and beyond that the prison industry is not an industry allowed in their neighborhoods. Organized by the Coalition Against the ACA, the events began with a free show at the Drake Theater on Friday, Aug. 10. The Freedom Fest included a puppet show, an art exhibit of work done by prisoners, radical hip-hop, song, spoken word and dance, and more.

That weekend saw the other big conference going down in town - the Counter Conference. Spanning two days, the conference sought to "promote networking, education and collaborative action." Such prison activist luminaries as Christian Parenti, Ramona Africa, Russell Shoatz III, Patricia Clark and Ewuare Osayande took part in the panels and discussions.

Workshops included: Police Repression of Dissent; Sex Workers and Criminalization of Prostitution; Political Mobilization; INS Detention and Asylum Seekers; Re-Entry: Returning to the Community From Prison; and Prison Visitation and Prison Support Programs, among others.

A permitted march and rally kicked off the

Week of Protest Against the Prison Industry. This was preceded by the hanging of a banner from a train bridge crossing major road artery Rt. 76 reading "Crime is a Commodity, Corporations Profit." Later on that Monday evening, The March for Justice began at Seventh and Race and went to Love Park via Arch Street. Several people spoke addressing the issues behind the march. Several hundred people of different races, genders and backgrounds joined the march. It protested outside the police administration building, the new federal jail and outside District Attorney Lynne Abraham's office. At the prison, inmates showed their appreciation and solidarity by raising fists and pounding on windows. The march also protested outside ARAMARK and Marriott, who both use prison labor.

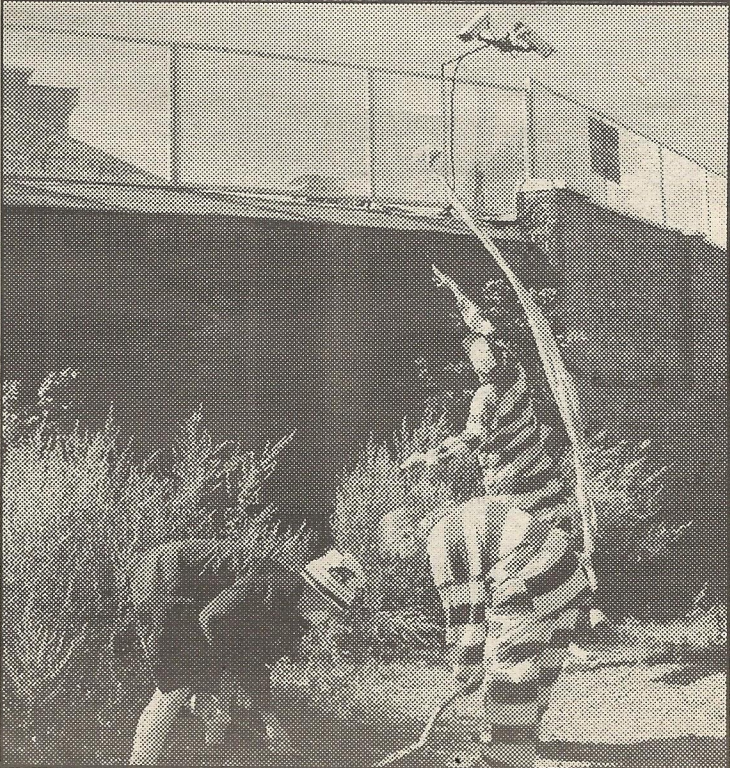
ACT-UP led a march on Wednesday to protest Prison Health Services, akin to an HMO for prisons. A member of the ACA, it has been criticized for well-documented instances of medical neglect and withholding treatment for inmates suffering with AIDS. As ACT-UP states, "Patients are frequently denied prompt emergency care and daily medication, including insulin." One person who was awaiting trial and had not been

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## Anti-Militarism Action!

Three antimilitarist activists throw a rope over the wall of Helsinki prison and started digging a tunnel under the prison wall. The action was a symbolic expression that it's unacceptable to imprison people because of their antimilitarist convictions.

The police stopped the action after half an hour of digging. They booked the personal details of activists for a possible prosecution later, but no one was arrested.





# RAISING... THE NEXT GENERATION OF

## ANARCHIST CHILD REARING IN CAPITALIST SOCIETY

By Beth Baker-Cristales

I remember being pregnant with my first child and going for a regular checkup with the obstetrician. As I waited to be seen, I picked up one of those magazines—*Parents* or *Parenting* or *Baby* or something like that. They are the equivalent of *Elle* or *Vogue* for the reproducing set. One of the lead articles was how to decorate your baby's room, including advice for color coordinating furniture and wall decoration. I was amazed at the many assumptions contained in the article—that all parents will live somewhere large enough to devote a whole room to their baby, that all parents will want to sleep in a different room than their baby, that all parents will be buying cribs and other baby furniture, and that all parents will want color coordinated rooms and accessories. These assumptions are based upon a bourgeois conception of society in which parenting is tantamount to consuming the powerful icons of the good life that are daily peddled to us and our children. Those who are unable or unwilling to consume these images and reproduce them in their children are too often seen as less than perfect parents.

This article encapsulates the problem with raising children in a capitalist society—childbearing and child rearing are totally colonized by capitalism, transformed into another occasion for conspicuous consumption. From the moment of conception, parents are bombarded with the message that their children are consumers. And from the moment of birth, children are bombarded with that same message. No wonder so few of my anarchist comrades have children. Who would want to bear and raise children if it is only

another vehicle for the reproduction of capitalist society? As a parent of two (ages five and two months), I get sick to my stomach every time I go out and see kids begging to eat at McDonalds, crying for the latest electronic game, and being trained by their parents and society at large to believe that consuming and thinking only of one's own needs are the path to happiness.

Needless to say, childbearing and child rearing are so much more profound and consequential than decorating nurseries, buying baby clothes, and raising little consumers. First of all, childbearing and child rearing necessarily entails love, compassion, sacrificing oneself for another, teaching, and learning. Secondly, child rearing is about social reproduction, and anarchist child rearing is about raising liberated kids, people who will be more likely to be anarchists as adults.

An anarchist revolution will not be the kind of cataclysmic, violent change in governing regimes that has occurred in communist and other revolutions. An anarchist revolution will have to be based upon social transformation and community building, as well as direct attacks on capitalism. An anarchist revolution will not

happen overnight, it will be the result of years of careful organizing, a job that future generations will have to continue. Anarchist child rearing means trying to raise future libertarian revolutionaries. It means constantly struggling to educate our children to resist capitalism, consumerism, and apathy. And it means teaching our children to love, work in community, struggle for the positive transformation of society, cultivate their multiple passions and talents, and help others develop them, too.

On the one hand, raising anarchist children is easy. To the chagrin of many parents, most children naturally resist being told what to do. Some kids, especially the smallest ones, care little for social mores, propriety, and appearances. They usually just want to have fun and play. Anarchist parents can encourage this natural playfulness and rebelliousness in their children.

Indulging in a cliché, anarchist parents can also help their kids learn how to question authority. After hearing me talk so often about the evils of government, my five-year-old daughter asks me "are you my government or something?" when I tell her to do things she doesn't really want to do. I'm constantly having to explain why I've asked her to do things. It's annoying and it takes a hell of a lot of time, but she won't ac-



# ANARCHIST PARENTING AND CHILDRAISING

cept authority blindly, not even from her parents.

On the other hand, raising anarchist children can be a challenge because children tend to be self-absorbed. It may be hard to get children to acknowledge the importance of working together, especially when the task at hand is not something they enjoy doing. But it is important for anarchist kids to learn that they live in a cooperative unit, that their actions affect others, and that they have to communicate and work with others. And of course, getting children to resist capitalism is one of the greatest difficulties of anarchist parenting. In my own case, this has meant letting my child participate in capitalist society while teaching her its limitations and shortcomings. She watches TV, but we're constantly teaching her how to critique television shows and especially commercials. We generally allow her to keep the noxious toys that friends and family give her (i.e. barbie, play make-up, etc.),

but we try to teach her to recognize the implications of these toys, especially the ways in which they limit her. And we restrict the sorts of foods, clothes and toys we buy her, teaching her about the toxic effects of agribusiness and the exploitation of sweatshop production.

Anarchist parenting means getting your children involved in political activities at a young age. Children have a keen sense of justice (and injustice). My daughter is able to understand the reasons for all the demos, marches and boycotts we participate in. Going to events and meetings with both her parents has taught her that political work is part of everyday life and that when you see an injustice, you have to act. Living in Los Angeles, going to demos and marches has also taught her lessons about the police. She has already abandoned the naive childhood trust in police that so many of her young friends exhibit. She knows that the world is not always as it seems on TV. Unfortunately, anarchists in the U.S. have not developed many ways to help parents raise liberated children. I rarely meet anarchist parents at conferences, demos, or meetings. Even when organizers offer childcare at events, there are usually too few children to justify it. We can learn from the communists a generation ago that ran schools and summer camps for their kids. Only instead of "red diaper babies," we could be finding ways to raise black and red diaper babies collectively. And not just among our own offspring, but among all the kids whose lives we touch—students, nieces and nephews, neighbors, and the children of friends. In order to do this, we need to create alternative institutions—community centers, schools, activities for kids that teach them how to liberate themselves and others.

Being a parent has taught me a lot about being an anarchist. My daughter is constantly reminding me how important it is to play. She questions my authority when I tell her to do things—"stop screaming," "come here," "get dressed," "pick up your toys"—the list is endless. "Why?" she constantly asks. Sometimes I find I don't have a good answer. And not having an answer keeps me in check. Maybe my request was unreasonable. But when I do have an answer, she's usually willing to help out, not because I've ordered her to but because she understands the importance of whatever she's doing. My kids are young yet. Perhaps the hardest part about being an anarchist parent will be letting go of them, allowing them to develop into whatever they want to be, even if it isn't an anarchist.

In any case, you can't have a revolution without women, and you can't have a revolution without children.

## ANARCHIST IRRELEVANCY AND THE FAMILY

By Trina Clemente

Anarchists are in the middle of wonderful things, including Food Not Bombs, Homes Not Jails, various squats, info-shops, internet activism, human rights issues of almost every variety, union organizing, large scale protest organizing and more. However, anarchists are failing families, the working poor, people of color and other underrepresented groups both inside and outside the anarchist movement.

For the purpose of this article I am defining the word "family" to mean: one or more persons responsible for the care of one or more children, elderly adults, differently abled people or anyone else generally unable to entirely care for themselves. Although unglamorous, families comprise the world; everyone comes from families.

There is a strong tendency in anarchist circles to be ever so vigilant against the evil of reformism<sup>1</sup>, so that any person wishing to discuss organizing structures which support the everyday, practical needs of families, the working poor, and the actively oppressed, is shouted down with accusations of being a "reformer" and not a "true" anarchist<sup>2</sup>. No matter how unglamorous, un-hip, and boring it is, our families need healthy communities and culture, and we need to build it. If anarchists are to become relevant, we must come out of the exclusive arenas of rhetoric and big event-participation to become active in the daily, unspectacular running of the world.

Over the years, I have come to be-

lieve that the issue of organic learning, or unschooling, is one of the most important to the anarchist community and for all people in general. By design, so much of our culture is sick, and so much of the school system is centered around indoctrination into that same sick culture. In addition, there is a need to combat the pervasive corporate advertising in schools. This corporate propaganda can be found in textbooks (counting M&Ms for "math"), the lunch menu (Pizza Hut and Taco Bell days), the hallways, the gyms, the morning "infotainment" Channel 1—complete with corporate commercials.

I have a teenaged son in public school, and throughout the years he's been in school, I have witnessed:

- a school-wide assembly to celebrate Earth Day with Ronald-fucking-McDonald!

- "science" handouts provided by the state Agricultural Association that told all about how beef and sheep raising was great for the environment, in fact, the very epitome of recycling, re-using and reducing.

- incompetent teachers that astounded me with their lack of knowledge and/or inability to respectfully deal

with kids.

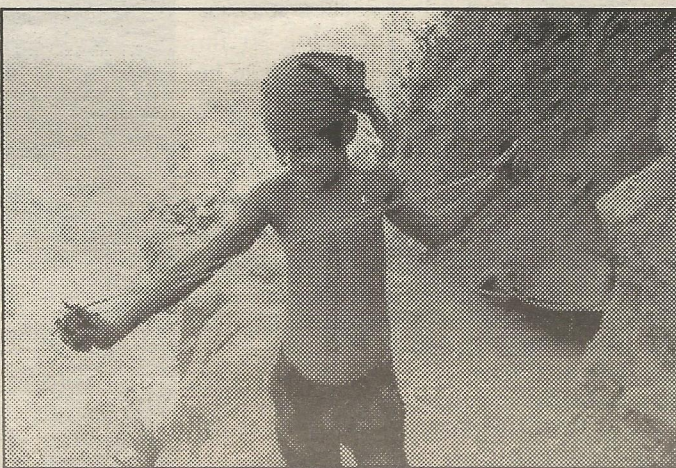
- an incessant stream of fundraisers which forced children and parents to sell crap to support the school.

- blatant brainwashing of every kind, including the whitewashing of history and the indoctrination to love and/or join the U.S. armed forces.

- almost every elementary school teacher instruct the class to recite the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag (His kindergarten teacher even taught all of the children to sing the insipid country song "Oh I'm proud to be an American, where at least I know I'm free...").

- a school board member explain that it is okay to put children's brains up for sale to the highest corporate bidder because we live in a capitalist world.

- children's natural curiosity for learning about life and the world deadened or destroyed.



Beyond all that, there is the homework and the supplies, often working as wedges that push many families apart a little bit at a time. Having to enforce arbitrary "homework" day after day increases the kids' resentment, and is a struggle. And if all of the supplies/equipment requirements stretch the family budget, then tempers are just as likely to rise as between partners in the midst of financial trouble. This is the case with many week-to-week working class families.

Schools suck! They belong to the enemy. If we want to organize for the long run, if we want to make real progress from generation to generation, then we must start to work now on wresting our kids' brains from capitalist state and corporate schools. And we must build networks to help everyone who so desires be able to make this choice. There needs to be a dialogue about how to create an

unschooling<sup>3</sup> space for children of single parents and the very low income, people who must work, in one way or another. Their children shouldn't be sacrificed to school just because of the injustices of this socio-economic system. Spending years being thoroughly indoctrinated, and then having to spend years of our adult lives re-educating ourselves, then repeating this same cycle with our own children and grand-

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# REVOLUTIONARIES

## PRIORITIZING KIDS IN



## THE ANARCHIST COMMUNITY



By amberraekelly

Recently I attended the Permanent Autonomous Zone conference in Louisville, KY where I participated in my first parenting workshop. Even though I go to several conferences a year, this was the first time I saw a parenting workshop offered. Unfortunately, it wasn't even scheduled, but was a guerrilla workshop set up by a mama from Detroit. Why did it take so long for me to come upon a workshop like this? Why is it that a bunch of self proclaimed anarchists in this "movement" for social and political change are not prioritizing family and community?

I am the mother of a 3-year-old kid, miss Anaya Cassidy Kelly. Anaya goes with me almost everywhere. She is by my side at meetings, workshops, benefits, during volunteering, demos, consciousness raisings, protests and other events. You name it, and if I was there, chances are Anaya was too. That kid has sat through the most annoying and frustrating of consensus-based meetings where even I was whiny and tired by the end. Anaya has to put up with a lot having an activist as a mama.

This is complicated by the fact that she has a mama who is working within a "movement" that tends to marginalize both the parents and children within it. Often I am left with the feeling that, within the anarchist community, kids are seen as fun little things to have around as long as someone else takes care of them and they don't inconvenience people by taking them away from the "real work" they could be doing. The amount of cluelessness and hypocrisy that we, as parents, find ourselves surrounded by as we struggle to both work for change and raise our kids is astounding. We must do our work in a "movement" not inclusive of children.

Locally, this plays out in several ways, including how children are treated, how child care is handled and the relentless judgement passed on the hardworking folks who are parenting. I would like to think that these problems just apply to my local community, but in conversations with parents from different parts of the country there are definite patterns in the ways that children and families are looked at and treated in our supposedly "radical" communities.

### CHILDCARE

Unless a workshop or action is planned specifically by the local NOW chapter or women's liberation group, there is simply no childcare. Some organizers claim that their events are to be held in a "child-friendly" environment. Though the thought is nice, it simply does not occur to them that parents would like to concentrate on the subject at hand rather than constantly entertaining kids to keep them quiet enough to not disrupt the meeting. Having to get up every 15 minutes to take her/him to the bathroom and to leave early because our kid(s) has/have simply lost their patience makes it difficult to concentrate. When I go to a meeting or an event, I want to be able to participate in what it going on. My child does not necessarily enjoy events just because they are held in "child-friendly" spaces.

Over the summer, I went to an event set up by the local women's health collective. There were about four kids at the workshop, and though it was nice to not feel like the children were unwelcome, the mothers spent more time entertaining the kids and keeping them out of the pads and speculums (little kids love breaking plastic speculums, let me tell you) that we really didn't give our total attention to the workshop on D.I.Y. women's healthcare.

It's also frustrating when events promise childcare, yet when parents show up with their

kids, there is none to be found, as happened here in Florida at last year's Youth Liberation Conference. Apparently there were two people set up to "bottom-line" the childcare, yet when the conference came, the parents of the three kids who showed up were out of luck. There was no space set aside for kids, no activities set up and no volunteers signed up to watch them! As it turned out, before each of the workshops that I wanted to attend, I would have to wander around with the kids, asking people to please volunteer to do childcare. Instead, I ended up with the responsibility of setting up childcare. I ended up with this stupid feeling of guilt because I was daring to take people's precious time away from the workshops to watch my kid.

Good childcare at events and conferences makes the lives of parents and kids much easier. Kids get to be kids and be as loud and silly and rambunctious as they want to be, and the parents actually get to participate fully in the event, as happened at the National Conference on Organized Resistance. From the moment I dropped Anaya off before each workshop to the moment I picked her up she was getting constant one-on-one attention. She totally enjoyed being able to hang out with other kids who were just as weird as she was, and I felt relaxed enough to go and enjoy the conference. It was great!

Despite the reliable childcare, I was still left with the feeling that the kids were being a bit slighted. At NCOR I went to workshops which informed not just my organizing, but how I perceived the world. Why is it that we expect people to reach a certain age before they are worthy of getting certain information? I have never been to a workshop, conference or other event where there have been workshops or activities for kids under the age of ten. Why are we, as anarchists, waiting until our kids are alienated teenagers before introducing them to politics? Consensus decision making, mutual aid and direct democracy are just as important for three year olds and how they live their lives as they are to us! (What do you think sharing is all about?) Kids also need conflict resolution skills so that they can participate just as fully in problem solving in our communities as we do. How awesome would it be if our kids under the age of 10 were already aware of and challenging patriarchy, white supremacy, heterosexism and gender norms? I feel as though anarchists are underestimating and short-changing our up and coming generations.

### HELPFUL ADVICE OR ANARCHO-PURISM?

Probably every parent I know is her/his own worst critic when it comes to parenting. As a parent I am constantly questioning myself as to whether I am making the best choices for my child and as to whether our relationship is a positive one. As an activist I am very sure of my politics and am ready to discuss those politics with anyone who is interested and willing to share ideas with me. Conversely, as a parent, I am constantly questioning almost every decision I make. This stems from both social pressures and self-

criticism as I try to apply my politics, ethics and principles to my parenting and can cause me quite a bit of stress.

The stress is only amplified when people feel that they have a right to pass judgment on my parenting. Parents throughout the anarchist community feel unfairly judged. One mother told me of a guy in our community who decided that it would be okay to tell her that he didn't think that

she should let her daughter watch T.V. and that she was obviously feeding her daughter terribly. The fact that this guy has never had to try and raise a child as a single parent and has not had to feed both himself and a child on one income was of course not an issue in his mind. Who cares that you can get a whole load of dishes washed and several rooms cleaned during one video, as long as we are perfect parents and spending every moment that we have as parents participating in "quality time" with our children? Instead of feeling the need to pass judgement on this mother, why didn't the guy just offer to take



Anaya Cassidy Kelly

the child a couple of afternoons a week so that the mother could get chores done and, gasp, actually have some time to relax by herself once in a while.

One woman in my community told me that I am not spending enough time with Anaya. The fact that I am trying to finish school, keep a local organization going, run weekly activist trainings and workshops, and volunteer in our local infoshop simultaneously was, of course, not an issue. Instead of volunteering to take on one or more of these tasks, the woman felt it would be more useful to tell me I had my priorities mixed up, leaving me feeling like shit and without an answer to how things could change.

I often hear from non-parents about parental discipline. Several people in my community think that kids just don't need rules and that any type of boundaries are coercive and authoritarian. Forget the fact that kids feel safer and thrive in structured environments and are much happier and easier to get along with when they have regular bedtimes and naptimes. Most of the folks I hear advice like this from have not had much experience with kids, yet the advice keeps coming. Once, someone heard my friend and nanny tell Anaya that she could not do something. The guy and his partner were to watch Anaya for me the next afternoon, and he felt the need to inform my friend that he certainly would not use such "authoritarian" techniques when he watched Anaya.

It's time that, instead of judging those of us raising kids, people start incorporating the kids in our communities into their own lives. I hope people will keep these ideas in mind, and in the future, anarchist parents will not feel so marginalized while trying to do work within this "movement."

amberraekelly is an anarchist parent and organizer in Gainesville, Florida. Contact her and Anaya at radmamma@hotmail.com or c/o the Onward Collective.

## WAYS TO SUPPORT PARENTS IN YOUR LOCAL COMMUNITY

By amberraekelly

**1-TAKE THE KID(S)!** Parents are always in search of childcare, especially if they are activists and especially if they are single parents. Even if there are no events/meetings/etc to plan for, and all household "chores" are done (yeah right!) parents often just need time off to relax.

**2-DO SOME CHORES.** With the hectic schedules that most activist parents have, it is aggravating to spend time at home cleaning and cooking when they'd rather be spending time with their kid(s). Offer to cook a meal for a family or clean a parent's house (or even just their kitchen!), so they can freely enjoy spending that time at the park with their kid/s. (And you probably will have to offer. I know that I'd feel awkward asking someone to do my dishes or clean my living room.)

**3-DITCH THE ANARCHO-PURISM.** Parents feel judged enough by the larger society that we live in; the anarchist community does not need to add to this stress. If you feel that a child needs something that she/he is not getting, offer to do it yourself, don't just sit back and tell the parent what he/she is doing wrong without contributing to the raising of the kid(s).

**4-GET THE CHILDCARE GOING.** If you know of an event happening in your area, be the one to arrange child care, without having to wait for a parent to request it. No parent wants to feel like the nag or like they are raining on someone else's parade.

**5-SET UP WORKSHOPS AND EVENTS FOR KIDS.** Why should the parents be doing all the work to educate our next generation? All of us should be helping raise the kids in our communities, which includes exposing them to our anarchist ideals first hand. This could include anything from challenging white supremacy and gender roles to how to turn lawns into gardens and fix their bike. When this happens, I wouldn't be surprised if, after a short time, the kids start setting up workshops for themselves.

**6-HOLD THE DEADBEAT DAD'S IN THIS COMMUNITY ACCOUNTABLE.** There is nothing more frustrating than to be a single mother in this "movement" and to see fathers who are not involved in their children's lives in any way be totally supported in the anarchist community. It feels like a stab in the back to know that no matter what comes out of many anarchists' mouths regarding sexism, when it really comes down to it, they are afraid to call one another out on their shit.

**7-APPRECIATE YOUR LOCAL PARENTS.** This one is especially important. Being a parent is very rewarding, and kids are pretty wonderful, but not always. There are times when a parent may feel as though she/he has been run over by a garbage truck. There are times when parents feel as though they are the worst parents in the world, and that their kid/s will surely be in therapy for years to come just to get over this. This is especially important for single parents. As a personal aside, I have been a single mama since before Anaya was born, and mother's day has always been really difficult for me because I have not had a partner celebrate my mommy-ing and Anaya is not yet old enough to know that the day exists. Last mother's day three of my friends took the time to make me cards and pick me flowers. I have never been so freaking touched in my whole life. I cried all over the place.

**8-HAVE MORE PARENTING DISCUSSIONS/WORKSHOPS.** No parent I know feels as though they have all of the answers. Most of us are searching hungrily for other parents and people interested in the issues that we face as "radicals" and anarchists trying to raise kids. At the PAZ conference, when Heather (the mama from Detroit) set up the parenting workshop, five parents and 25 others showed up. Parenting is not just interesting to those of us who already have kids. How we are "raising" this next generation is of interest to many, and it is something that we all must talk about more often. Hell, I'd like to see a whole conference about anarchist families and communities (though, of course, I don't have the time to set that up!).

This is by no means a complete list of ways to support parents in your community, so keep thinking. Be creative. Go all out.

For more essays and thoughts on anarchist parenting, check out [www.anarchistparenting.org](http://www.anarchistparenting.org)



# Real Feminists Don't Get Raped **AND OTHER FAIRY TALES<sup>1</sup>**

By T-Bone Kneegrabber

A woman walks into a meeting looking drained and scared. Her eyes scan the room trying to find friendly faces, looking for support. The rest of the room sits, silently judging her. Her gaze stops on a man across the room from her, surrounded by other men and women, looking smug. She cringes, beads of sweat appear on her skin; she is afraid and sick to her stomach. She slowly raises a shaking finger and points it at the man, "he raped me!" she proclaims. He becomes instantaneously outraged and jumps to his feet screaming, "LIAR!" The tension in the room mounts. Someone suggests separating the parties involved.

She is taken to another room. People come in. They ask questions: "Well, what happened?" "Were you two dating?" "Are you sure he heard you say no?" "Why are you doing this to him?" "I understand you *feel* violated but I mean why don't you just describe things as the *actually* happened?" "Why didn't you say anything earlier?" "How can this be true?"

Conclusions are made: "Well there must be some horrible misunderstanding." "I don't believe it. He does such great work against globalization (racism, classism, etc.) and such great work for the trees (animals, people with AIDS etc.)." "These are interpersonal problems, they have nothing to do with this group." "That woman is just an over-sensitive feminist." "I don't like the process she used to call him out." "We have too much work to do to deal with this now." "This is an environmental group (prison industrial complex group, animal rights group, etc.), not a women's issues group." "He has always been so nice to me." "We really need him, he has rich parents (a car, a space etc.)." "I'm not comfortable being judge and jury." "Maybe the two of them should just sit down over coffee and talk this through." "We all make mistakes, let's just work on this demo." "...no time" "...bad process" "...he said, she said."

The woman is victimized again. She is pushed from the so-called radical group. She leaves the meeting to go stand in the rain (the tears of her sisters). As she is walking home she runs into other women similarly victimized, similarly ignored. They share their sadness and their anger, finally realizing that they are not alone. They go home, lace up some combat boots and return to their meetings and groups baseball bats in hand, ready to show those "radicals" that they mean business and will no longer be ignored!

★★★

This scenario is prevalent in all realms of activism, with the unfortunate exception of offenders actually feeling the physical

wrath of the survivors involved. Sexual assault within progressive communities needs to be dealt with, swiftly and productively. You can easily round up 500 black clad anarchists to fuck shit up at a frat house where rapists live, but when someone points a finger at a "progressive" man, all

of a sudden a process emerges; all of a sudden she is being divisive; all of a sudden she is COINTELPRO. We, as 'anarchists,' hold the society we have no faith in to a higher standard than our friends!

Survivors of sexual assault within the progressive community are afraid to come forward with their stories and their needs. They have the same fear, shame, and guilt as "mainstream" survivors, with the added bonus of not being able to go to the authorities out of principle. So now there are women being victimized by men they thought they could trust, men who were supposed to be anti-sexist, and men who they organize with. Survivors hear again and again about how strong women are. Thus, echoing through their head is the sentiment of "I am a radical, anarchist, feminist woman - I should have known better. I must be a bad feminist to LET something like this happen to me!" And then after they work up the nerve to finally come forward, the people who should be supporting them are supporting these men, or remaining eternally neutral.

Then there are the people who believe the survivor, the people who want to be supportive. All too often, however, they jump to conclusions about what should be done, by whom and when, without the input of the survivor. "Let's go kick his ass." "Let's set up a mediation for the two of you." "I'm going to start an email war to try and torment him and people who support him." The most important factor in any process dealing with intense transgressions is to make sure the survivor's needs are met and taken into consideration first and foremost. That means asking a survivor of sexual assault what they need and want and how supporters can make those things happen.

So let's see how this could work<sup>2</sup>. A woman comes forward and says she has been sexually assaulted. Supporters ask her what she needs and wants, very simply by saying, what do you need? What do you want? What can I do? If the survivor cannot think of what

she wants or needs, then a group of supporters may help her brainstorm some ideas, such as: mediation, facilitated discussion, him to be severely physically assaulted by a group of super tuff femme grills, him to be removed from organizing at least until he has worked on his shit, counseling, STD tests, hugs, something/ someone to punch, somewhere to cry, not to be asked all these questions right now, holding him accountable, a sincere apology, a safe space etc. Then, supporters would assist the survivor in getting what she wants and needs.

In an ideal situation the man would acknowledge that he fucked up and prove that he wants to be held accountable. He would voluntarily remove himself from groups and organizing until the time when it was seen fit that he return. He needs to be removed from the land of activism for the simple reason that if he was not aware of his original transgression until after the survivor confronted him, he has a lot of subconscious shit to deal with and a lot of issues to work out. He cannot be working on his issues of sexism and violence if he continues to work on campaigns and deal with other activist distractions. Otherwise, it is easier for him to ignore his problem and not to allot adequate time to analyzing his actions, dealing with his issues of sexism and violence, or personal rehabilitation. He would want to do whatever the survivor needed from him to be accountable.

The next step would be healing the survivor, healing the offender, and healing the community. This could be done through a myriad of ways including but not limited to: groups for survivors, groups for offenders, groups for people who identify as women, groups for people who identify as men, mixed gendered groups, workshops and discussions on sexism and sexual assault in theory and in specific, men working against sexism groups, radical feminist support groups, etc. Giving people the option to process with others can be a helpful and productive way for people to start healing. Although healing of the offender is vitally important to any process dealing with sexual violence, it is not the job of the survivor to aid in that healing process. The survivor should never be asked to attend meetings to rehash what happened and how it made her feel. It is not her obligation to ever forgive the person who assaulted her. She can forever refuse to work with him, regardless of whether or not he did everything that was asked of him. People who are close to the offender, if they are comfortable and able, should help him deal with his personal shit, they should help work on his issues of sexism and violence. It is very important to not put any of the responsibility to heal the offender on the shoulders of the survivor, unless she openly expresses wanting to help him, and she establishes the way in which she wants to help.

However, the ideal situation rarely happens; often times the man accused denies the actions of which he is accused. In this situation different steps need to be taken. It is still vitally important that the survivor's needs are given ultimate consideration and met. The survivor's needs are the only needs that have to be met and therefore everything must be done to make her feel comfortable and safe. The offender should be given several opportunities to be held accountable for his actions, possibly in both public and private settings. If he continues to refuse to be accountable for his actions it is time to take drastic measures. Drastic measures include but are not limited to: removing the offender from organizing, banning him from spaces, conferences, events, starting poster campaigns to tell others about the things he has done, petty vandalism, assault, ostracism, etc).

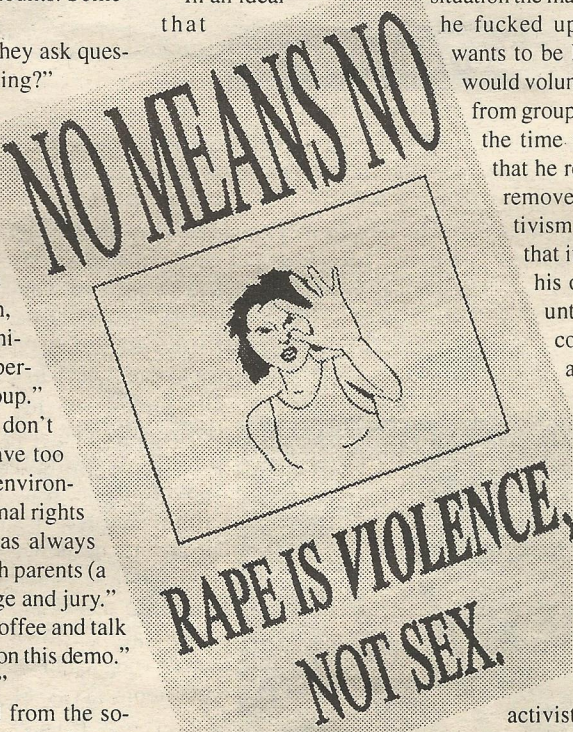
Healing the survivor and the community are always vitally important steps whether or not the offender is

willing to be held accountable for his transgressions. Healing the community and allowing people to talk openly about their feelings is very important in situations where the offender refuses accountability. People should not chastise the survivor for her actions. The survivor should not be judged or punished. There should not be safe spaces for the offender. There should not be events where the survivor is asked not to attend because the offender is going to be present, only the other way around.

It is of dire significance that as radicals we acknowledge sexism and sexual assault within our own ranks. Just because a man identifies as radical does not make him an angel. The label 'anarchist' does not render him incapable of sexual violence. People within the radical community need to be held to a higher standard than people in mainstream society. People must know that sexual assault will not be tolerated within this community. Survivors must be supported. Offenders must be held accountable. We must stand in solidarity with those who have been assaulted and heal together to try and prevent further victimization if we truly wish for revolutionary change and an egalitarian society.

<sup>1</sup> I have used all male pronouns for offenders and female pronouns for survivors. I realize this is an oversimplification. I am personally aware of women who have been assaulted by other women, men who have been assaulted by men, men who have been assaulted by women, people who do not fit into the gender binary being assaulted and assaulting as well, making any gender stereotypes null and void. I chose to present a dynamic of male offenders and female survivors because I find this to be the most common dynamic; likewise, it is the only one that I can write from personal experience. I apologize for the gendered pronouns, but most of my impressions are drawn from personal experience and that is the easiest way for me to write.

<sup>2</sup> I am currently unaware of any existing, successful process for dealing with sexual assault within the anarchist/ radical community. While one can find several books and websites on how to facilitate a meeting, when it comes to dealing with deep conflict we are forever reinventing the wheel. The ideas stated above are simply ideas, and my ideas at that. I want to compile the stories of people who have experienced sexual assault from within the radical community and how they or their community dealt or are dealing with it. I want to try to establish a skeleton process for people to be able to use. In my experience, trying to develop a process in the midst of dealing with this kind of dilemma is very difficult. I want to help other communities deal with sexual assault within their community successfully. If you have dealt or are dealing with similar issues within your community and would be willing to share your stories with me, I would greatly appreciate it. I can be contacted at robandpillage@hotmail.com. (Anonymity will be protected upon request.)



Healing the community and allowing people to talk openly about their feelings is very important in situations where the offender refuses accountability. People should not chastise the survivor for her actions. The survivor should not be judged or punished. There should not be safe spaces for the offender. There should not be events where the survivor is asked not to attend because the offender is going to be present, only the other way around.

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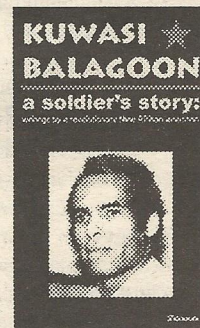
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# ★RADICAL HISTORY★

## THE RED ARMY FACTION

By Nick Atwood

In April 1998 an 8-page typewritten statement arrived at the Cologne office of the Reuters news agency. The document announced, "Today we are ending this project. The urban guerrilla group in the form of the RAF is now history." After almost three decades of struggle in Germany, the Red Army Faction (RAF) acknowledged, "we are stuck in a dead end." Over 30 deaths are attributed to the RAF; 26 of its members have also died.

In many ways, the announcement was just a formality. With the exception of one spectacular action in 1993 when they used 600 pounds of explosives to destroy a women's prison under construction, the RAF had been dormant for most of the decade. In 1992 they announced an end to assassinations and other attacks against humans.

Not surprisingly, there have been many postscripts to the end of the Red Army Faction. In September 1999 police in Vienna shot and killed Horst Ludwig Meyer, 43, and arrested Andrea Klump, 42. Meyer had long been one of Germany's most wanted "terrorists," blamed for a number of deadly bombings and shootings in the 80's. Klump recently received a 9-year prison sentence after she admitted involvement in a failed 1988 bomb attack on NATO personnel in Spain. Counting her, there are now seven former-RAF members in German prisons, most serving life sentences.

In abandoning their struggle, the RAF made clear that its decision was made in the context of their situation in Germany. "It is not intended to question the validity of the armed liberation struggle in other countries." They did not believe that "armed politics" should be discarded as a form of struggle, but that it should be re-evaluated as a strategy. "Our decision," they wrote, "is the expression of our search for new answers."

Red Army Faction (Rote Armee Fraktion) was their chosen name, but they may be better known as the "Baader-Meinhof Gang," a name the news media created from the last names of two early members. The "Red" adjective in their preferred name implies a Marxist-Leninist ideology. They believed that class war was a necessary stage in the destruction of the capitalist machine, and in the construction of a classless society, but their anti-USA, anti-NATO actions were criticized as not representing concerns of the working class. The media called them anarchists, though they disliked the label. Perhaps most important in their political thinking was the influence of Third World liberation movements – what they described as "the worldwide revolt against imperialism" – and the revolutionary models of Mao Tse-Tung, Che Guevara, Franz Fanon and especially Brazil's Carlos Marighella, who taught that revolution must begin in the cities.

Although influenced by many ideologies, the RAF lacked a long-term revolutionary strategy or goals, and they are defined more accurately by their tactics. As an organization, they went through several cycles of near-extinction and renewal. RAF "generations" are often referred to, periods of strength that ended with arrests. Most attention has focused on the so-called 1st Generation (1970-75), whose members have become somewhat mythical figures.

The late 1960s and 1970s were turbulent years in many countries, seen in part by the large number of individuals who chose to take up arms in resistance. There is not enough room here to mention all European revolutionary efforts, but major organizations at this time included Italy's Red Brigades, France's Action Directe, GRAPO in Spain, 17 November in Greece and Turkey's Dev Sol. The Red Army Faction was one of many revolutionary groups in Germany, but it was the longest lasting, deadliest and most influential. The RAF is responsible for hundreds of attacks –

bombings, kidnappings, assassinations.

You cannot understand the RAF unless you examine their actions and hear their words in the context of Germany in the 1970s. More young people than ever before (especially women) were attending universities. The "student experience" in Germany shared much in common with the youth counterculture in America; students questioned the middle-class values of their parents and challenged a new consumerism. University reform, changing gender roles, nuclear disarmament and the Vietnam War were defining issues. Uniquely, German students also confronted their country's history of fascism and the presence of former Nazis in West German government and businesses. Most students, at least in theory, sympathized with the idea of revolutionary violence.

West Berlin's Free University was the center of the student movement in Germany. In the spring of 1967, demonstrations marked a visit to Berlin by the dictatorial Shah of Iran. During their attempts to break up the protests, police shot and killed Benno Ohnesorg, a student attending his first protest. His death, like the killings of student protesters at Jackson State College and Kent State University for American students, was a turning point in the feelings of many German protestors, including future RAF members. 26-year-old Gudrun Ensslin summed-up the mood of many following the protests, "We must organize resistance. Violence is the only way to answer violence. This is the Auschwitz generation, and there's no arguing with them."

In April 1968, fires break out overnight in two large department stores in Frankfurt. Nobody is hurt, but damage is extensive. The next day, police arrested four people including Ensslin and 24-year-old Andreas Baader. Reaction to the fires, even in the student movement, was mixed. One of the action's supporters is Ulrike Meinhof, 34, a well-known and respected journalist. At their trial, Ensslin and Baader admitted to placing firebombs in the department stores, explaining, "We did it in protest against people's indifference to the murder of the Vietnamese." They were convicted and sentenced to three years in prison. After serving 14 months, the department store arsonists were released while the courts considered their appeal.

When the appeal was rejected, Baader and Ensslin refused to return to prison. They found refuge with Ulrike Meinhof and other supporters, but Baader

was soon re-arrested.

In May 1970, Andreas Baader was allowed to leave prison to meet Ulrike Meinhof at a Berlin library to do research for a book. Soon after they arrived, three women and one man forced their way into the reading room and disarmed prison escorts. During a struggle, a library employee is shot in the stomach. Meinhof, Baader and the others jumped out the windows and into waiting cars. The freeing of Andreas Baader is considered the birth of the Red Army Faction. The involvement of Meinhof, one of Germany's most famous female writers, made headlines.

In June a group of about 20 Germans flew from East Berlin on their way to an Al Fatah training camp in Jordan, where they learned to handle guns and use explosives, the first time in history that one "terrorist" group trained another. After two months they returned to Germany and began preparing for the "underground struggle" – renting apartments under false names in several cities, stealing and altering cars, and collecting new recruits and helpers. At the end of

September, they robbed three Berlin banks simultaneously.

In July 1971, police in Hamburg stopped a car at a roadblock. The occupants pulled their guns and activist Petra Schelm, 20, is shot and killed. After their first year of existence, 12 RAF suspects were in custody and there were warrants for 8 others. Their first member had died, and politically all they had to boast of was a prison break, car thefts and bank robberies. Still, there was a media frenzy surrounding the group, perhaps reflective of the national mood. In a public opinion survey done soon after the death of Petra Schelm, 82% had heard of the group, one in four West Germans under thirty admitted feeling sympathy for the RAF, and one in 20 said they would shelter them if asked.

Two weeks in May 1972 changed everything. On May 11, three days after President Nixon ordered an escalation of the bombing of North Vietnam, a series of explosions occurred at the United States Army headquarters complex in Frankfurt. American Lieutenant Colonel Paul Bloomquist was killed and 13 others are wounded. The RAF claimed responsibility and warned, "West Germany and West Berlin will no longer be a safe hinterland for the strategists of extermination in Vietnam." The next day, two bombs exploded on the fourth and fifth floors of city police headquarters in Augsburg. A few hours later, a Ford packed with explosives blew up in the parking lot of the state police in Munich. 60 cars were demolished, and windows shattered on six floors. Five police were injured in the attacks. Three days later, a car belonging to a federal judge who had signed arrest warrants for RAF members exploded. The judge's wife was alone in the car; the explosion left her permanently disabled. On May 19, at least three bombs exploded at the notoriously conservative Springer publishing company in Hamburg, injuring 17 workers. An RAF communiqué blamed the company for not responding to telephoned warnings. Finally, on May 24, two car bombs exploded outside the European headquarters of the US Army in Heidelberg. An Army officer and two soldiers were killed; five were injured. German police responded to the bombings by launching their largest manhunt ever; roadblocks created traffic chaos across the country. Within a month, the leaders of the RAF's first generation were rounded up. A local resident tipped off police who then surrounded a garage in Frankfurt; after a firefight, Andreas Baader (shot in the leg), Jan-Carl Raspe and Holger Meins surrendered. Gudrun Ensslin was arrested in Hamburg after an employee in a clothing store noticed her gun. A teacher in Hannover was approached by Ulrike Meinhof who asked to spend the night; he called the police instead.

The prisoners spent six months in isolation, but were eventually moved into adjoining cells on the 7th floor of Stammheim prison in Stuttgart. In prison, Meinhof began writing a history of the RAF. "The comrades who joined the movement saw it as the only real way of doing their revolutionary duty," she wrote. "They thought it essential to spread the idea of armed struggle ... not because they were so blind as to believe they could keep the initiative going until the revolution triumphed in Germany ... not because they so misjudged the situation as to think the masses would simply rise at such a signal ... it was a case of not letting the struggle fall apart again."

In November 1974, after two months on hunger strike to improve prison conditions and to retain his "revolutionary consciousness", Holger Meins, 33, died. Two thousand people attended his funeral. That evening, Berlin's most senior judge, Gunter von Drenkmann, was killed during a kidnapping attempt. Meins' death, and continuing protests against the prisoner's conditions of imprisonment, gave the RAF an enormous popularity. At the time Meinhof, Baader, Raspe, Meins and Ensslin were arrested, police were looking for 40 suspected RAF members. At the end of 1974, that number had grown to 300.

In April, 1975, six armed individuals entered the West German Embassy in Stockholm, Sweden and took 11 hostages, demanding the release of 26 prisoners in Germany, including Baader, Meinhof, Raspe and Ensslin. Two embassy employees were shot and killed when the govern-

*continued on page 18*

## RAF Timeline

- June 25, 1979: General Alexander Haig, Commander of NATO forces – and soon to become President Reagan's Secretary of State – narrowly survived an assassination attempt in Belgium; a roadside bomb exploded near his limousine, lifting it into the air. Three security guards in a second car were injured.
- August 31, 1979: R.A.F. blow up propane gas canisters on the United States air base at Ramstein, seriously injuring 17.
- September 15, 1981: Heidelberg. Using a grenade launcher, the RAF attacked General Frederick Kroesen, commander of US forces in Europe. The General and his wife received "minor cuts" when a grenade hit the trunk of their armor-plated car, shattering the rear window. A second grenade missed. The attack, in which the terrorists hit a moving vehicle from 200 yards away, was considered "extremely skilled." Ten years later, members of the Stasi (East German secret police) claimed to have trained RAF members to use the Soviet-made grenade launcher.
- February 1, 1985: Ernst Zimmerman, President of the West German Aerospace and Armaments Association (manufacturers of engines for combat planes and tanks) was shot and killed by two RAF assailants who came to the door of his home outside Munich. A week earlier, Action Directe (AD) killed a French Defense Ministry official; the actions were part of an announced cooperative campaign against NATO.
- August 8, 1985: A joint RAF/AD commando team bombed the Rhein-Main Air Base near Frankfurt, killing a US serviceman and the wife of an American soldier. The car bomb occurred in response to the deployment of US nuclear missiles in Germany. It was later learned that the night before a US soldier had been lured out of a disco and killed; his ID card was used to get the car past base security.
- July 9, 1986: A roadside bomb kills Karl-Heinz Beckurts, a nuclear scientist and director of research at Siemens (West Germany's largest electronics company), and his driver, in Munich.
- October 10, 1986: Gerold von Braunnmühl, a diplomat in the West German Foreign Ministry is shot and killed after stepping from a taxi outside his home near Bonn.
- March 23, 1987: A car bomb explodes outside the British Rhein-Dahlen military base during a NATO social function, injuring 31.
- November 30, 1989: Alfred Herrhausen, the head of Deutsche Bank (one of the largest banks in Europe) was killed when a remote-controlled bomb destroyed his armored Mercedes, one mile from his suburban home in Frankfurt. His driver was seriously wounded. Herrhausen, considered "the most powerful person in West Germany's economy," was also a close friend of Chancellor Helmut Kohl and the most important RAF victim since Schleyer. The attack was also the RAF's most sophisticated: the bomb detonated when Herrhausen's car, the middle-car of a three-car convoy, broke a light-beam trigger.
- February 13, 1991 (during the Gulf War): The RAF strafed the US Embassy in Bonn with over 200 rounds from an assault rifle. There are no injuries.
- April 1, 1991: Detlev Rohwedder, the head of "Treuhand," the government agency charged with privatizing over 8000 former state-run businesses in East Germany – leaving 4 million unemployed – was shot through the window of his home in Düsseldorf. His wife is wounded. This was the last fatal RAF attack.



Gudrun Ensslin and Andreas Baader during their 1968 trial



# Race, Anarchy and Punk Rock: THE IMPACT OF CULTURAL BOUNDARIES WITHIN THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT

By Otto Nomous

*"Yes that's right, punk is dead ... Punk became a fashion just like hippy used to be and it ain't got a thing to do with you or me."*  
- lyrics by Crass, The Feeding of the Five Thousand (1978).

Since the historic protests against the WTO in Seattle at the close of the last millennium, anarchism as a revolutionary theory has been sought after by an increasing number of people from wide ranging walks of life than ever before in recent memory. However, the undeniable fact remains that the make-up of the anarchist movement in the US for the last couple of decades has been a largely homogenous one; i.e. predominantly white and middle class. It also happens to be the case that the vast majority of people who identify themselves as anarchists in the US today are connected to "alternative" subcultures, such as punk rock, in varying degrees. As a person of color and an anarchist with roots in punk rock, I have become deeply concerned with the lack of diversity within the anarchist movement. As long as we fail to attract significantly diverse participation, thus remaining isolated and politically weakened, and fail to link-up with and support anti-racist struggles, we shouldn't keep our hopes up for any radical social transformation in this country. I began to realize that a significant part of the problem lies in the subcultural lifestyle of many anarchists, including myself. What follows is an attempt to offer insight in finding answers for the ever-pressing quest for "diversity" within the anarchist community.

From the numerous situationist slogans that graced the lyrics of early punk bands, to the proliferation of anarcho-punk bands such as Crass and Conflict in the early eighties, punk rock as a subculture has had a unique history of having a strong relationship with explicitly anarchist and anti-capitalist political content over the years. Many anarchists today, including myself, are by-products of punk rock, where most become politicized from being exposed to angry, passionate lyrics of anarcho-punk bands, "do-it-yourself" zines, and countless other sources of information that are circulated within the underground punk distribution networks. Some are introduced to punk through the introduction to the anarchist social circles. Regardless of which comes first, the correlation between the punk scene and the anarchist scene is hard to miss, especially at most anarchist gatherings and conferences. It is by no coincidence that the punk scene also shares the familiar demographic as its counterpart, of mostly white, male, suburban, middle class youths.

It should be clear then, that the problem of the lack of race/class diversity within the US anarchist movement will exist as long as it remains within the boundaries of any one particular culture, such as punk. To ignore this reality as merely an insignificant annoyance in an otherwise "politically correct" movement and pretend that it can be solved as long as we recruit folks of color by being more "open," or if one analyzes the connection between global capitalism and white supremacy, would be a short-sighted mistake, albeit a frequently made one. It is critically important to realize how cultural boundaries can alienate other communities, how subtle forms of denial and guilt-complexes prevent real solutions, and why many of our attempts in the past have failed to provide new, effective approaches in achieving a truly diverse Anarchist movement.

Looking at the fact that most people who rear their heads at anarchist "movement" events are roughly between 16-30 years old, with background influences of "punk" or other "alternative" persuasions, it is easy to understand why such "movements" tend to alienate most people than interest them. Punk has primarily appealed to middle-class, straight white boys, who, though they are "too smart" for the rock music pushed by the multinational corporations, still want to "rock out." It is also a culture that is associated with alienating oneself from the rest of society, often times in order to rebel against one's privileged background or parents. There's really nothing wrong with any radical counterculture having its own, distinct character, of course. Indeed, it's probably very good for those included, but we have to admit it is exclusive. Plus, what the anarchist movement today has determined its issues of importance rarely includes community organizing or working for social change around issues that most people prioritize, such as against the

more subtle forms of racism, ageism and sexism, for a living wage, health care, and so forth. We are often more interested in promoting anarchism and so-called revolutionary organizations than working to provide real alternatives among everyday people. The current anarchist movement, for this reason, is not very relevant to the actual lives of most oppressed people.

Quite disturbingly, my experiences have shown that instead of acknowledging their impact and actually addressing them, many white anarchists rely on either constant denial of their responsibilities or engage in patronizing, token gestures out of privilege-guilt complexes.

For example, I have received quite a few very negative and defensive reactions from white anarchists whenever I would mention the words "white" and "middle class" in the same sentence. Some of them defiantly point out that they're actually "working class" because they grew up poor or have to work, failing to realize the fact that they are able to blend in and benefit from the current anarchist scene which is predominantly middle class, and from white skin privilege.

It seems as though a fairly extensive arsenal of denial and rationale has been developed within the anarchist scene over the years. When I approached some members of a group organizing the anarchist conference in LA during the 2000 Democratic National Convention with the fact that the group was almost entirely white punks, many of them defended it by saying, "I believe in 'free association,'" or "I'm not stopping anyone from joining our group. In fact, we'd like other people to join us, but they never do." Such remarks indicate just how little they understand that they operate in comfort zones that suits their subcultural lifestyle or upbringing, which many people cannot relate to. This is one of the most serious and significant obstacles that anarchists face today. Until white anarchists figure out that they actually need to proactively break through race/class/cultural boundaries, they will only continue to perpetuate the isolated anarchist ghetto. One of the more insulting things I've heard not too long ago from a local anarchist, however, is "c'mon, I work with YOU. And you're not white... so I can't be racist." The thought of my (or any other person of color's) mere presence somehow legitimizing someone's attitude on race that is implicit in that statement is painfully absurd. But it reflects the reality that a lot of people still think in those ways. I have also encountered a slightly more subtle form of denial from anarchist discussion lists of people who insist that since the concept of race is a social construct, we shouldn't acknowledge racial identities and instead pretend as if such categories do not exist, though they almost always identify themselves as being "white." It sure must be convenient as a white person to pretend that issues of race didn't exist, which reminds me of the similar line associated with the anti-Affirmative Action campaigns of how we now live in a "colorblind society" with "equal opportunities."

Of course, not all white anarchists are clueless about racial/class relations and their positions of privilege. In the Minneapolis anarcho-punk zine *Profane Existence*, Joel wrote circa '92, "We are the inheritors of the white supremacist, patriarchal, capitalist world order. A prime position as defenders of the capital of the ruling class and the overseers of the underclass has been set aside for us ... as punks we reject our inherited race and class positions because we know they are bullshit." However, no matter how well-intentioned, the anarchist scene has been for the most part so deeply entrenched in the lifestyle of the

know-it-all, punker-than-thou, vegan/straight edge-fascist, fashion victims or young, transient, train-hopping, dreadlocked, dumpster-diving eco-warriors that not only do most people find it hard to relate to them but they themselves are at a loss when they actually try to reach out to other communities. A typical scenario I find when this is attempted usually only amounts to fluffy, token gestures of solidarity, such as visiting a local black revolutionary group's headquarters and staying just long enough to take pictures with a fist in the air or inviting a person of color to an all-white group just to ease one's guilt. While a few white/punk anarchists actually attempt to do serious work with people of color and/or are committed to community organizing, the point is that the general tendencies of most white/punk anarchists tend to be to settle for the symbolic and fail to support the real struggles of people to change the world precisely because they have a choice as opposed to people who have to struggle for their livelihood.

It would be useful to look at anarchist groups and projects such as Anti-Racist Action, Earth First, Food Not Bombs and various other anarchist collectives to find out the extent to which such groups are influenced by subcultural lifestyles and how they deal with the issue of diversity. They tend to be good at politicizing lots of people who may identify or feel comfortable with the distinct counter-culture, but they almost never go beyond the boundaries of their comfort zones. Our closest comrades aren't people chosen because of their politics alone - plenty more share our principles and political beliefs - but we never see them, because they don't share our style or cultural preferences. Furthermore, we have seen numerous infoshops spring up in many

cities over the years. They usually stand out like an eyesore by becoming more of a punk activist hangout and turning off the people who live in the neighborhood who may have been interested in the project otherwise. We should also be conscious of the fact that many times these projects contribute directly to gentrification of low-income neighborhoods, as punk and anarchist subsocieties are not well-known for their ability to pay high rents. It will ultimately depend on whether they operate as trendy, social gathering spots for punk/anarchists or a place that is respectful of and actively involves the local community.

Undeniably, there is a strong connection between cultural lifestyles and comfort zones and the extent of diversity within any movement. Groups cannot make their racial nature and composition into side issues, an ongoing "process," or working groups. They've got to be right next to the groups' foremost goals. We can keep our subcultural milieu in tact, but our organizing efforts have to step well beyond it. At this point at least, it makes more sense to organize according to neighborhoods and values than according to aesthetic tastes and specific ideologies and develop a culture that draws people together. Anarchism will not solve racism without the people affected by it. And we certainly won't be seeing any kind of a revolution made up of subcultural lifestyle ghettos.

Feel free to read, copy, and distribute this article as often as your heart desires.

Otto Nomous is an anarchist activist/organizer, independent videomaker, and a street "party member" of SF Bay Area Reclaim The Streets ([www.xinet.com/rts](http://www.xinet.com/rts)). His films "SF J20 Reclaim The Streets" and "Anarchy in L.A." are available at AK Press ([www.akpress.org](http://www.akpress.org)) and can be viewed online at [www.regenerationTV.com](http://www.regenerationTV.com). He can be reached at [soydog@hotmail.com](mailto:soydog@hotmail.com).

## America Under Attack?...

*continued from page 1*

ing class people with little role in US policy. If it is to be done and done right, armed struggle must be doubled with a revolutionary strategy based in a deep sense of humanitarianism and respect for human life.

While the methods used were certainly careless in the brutality they inflicted on unsuspecting and innocent people, if the attack was indeed carried out by Arab nationalists, we must be clear as to why this incident occurred. As anarchists, we must be loud and present on the role of US imperialism, militarism, nationalism, capitalism and racism. As anti-racists, we must be vigilant in standing in solidarity with Arabs, Arab Americans and other peoples of color currently being assaulted for their race, ethnicity and/or skin color. The state and its media are relentless in their references to Pearl Harbor (even though the current attack was not planned by a nation) and their persistence in claims of Arab involvement. Just like the days following Timothy McVeigh's attack on the Oklahoma City Federal Building, people of color throughout North America are being assaulted. We must be active in pushing back this racist, militarist assault.

Amidst cries of "God Bless America," "Revenge," and an unending stream of American flags and reports of feeling "closer to fellow Americans," it is clear that much of the distress over what happened on Sept. 11 is not because thousands of people died; but because thousands of white Americans (the two are often used interchangeably) died. The sanctity, safety and privilege of being a "white American" have been shattered. The United States has and continues to perpetuate acts of immeasurable cruelty and violence against predominantly people

of color throughout the world. Now that a measurably small number of those people have struck back at the world bully, the United States and its citizens are calling for blood. We must be clear that the US started this through its settler-imperialist policies that date back to the genocide of Native Americans.

We are sorry for all the lives that have been needlessly and carelessly lost in this event. We are angry at the loss of lives that spawned this event and we are raging at the deaths that are likely to occur from modern-day lynch mobs and/or US-sponsored war. We remain, however, hopeful about the potential for mass resistance to the onslaught of racist militarism and the possibilities for a mass movement capable of bringing about revolutionary change throughout the world.

Our task as revolutionaries, as anti-racists and as anarchists, is to fend off the racist calls for blood and "heightened security" (read: the taking of civil liberties and the open squashing of all dissent). We must counter the state and media propaganda with a revolutionary analysis and strategy. Now is not the time to bury our collective head in the sand. We must continue our fight for a new social order based on freedom, direct democracy and the elimination of all hierarchy. That is our task. It's time to build.

For up to date information and analysis, see [www.indymedia.org](http://www.indymedia.org), [www.zmag.org](http://www.zmag.org), [www.ainfos.ca](http://www.ainfos.ca), [www.commondreams.org](http://www.commondreams.org), [www.altemet.org](http://www.altemet.org), and [www.infoshop.org](http://www.infoshop.org) (this is by no means a complete listing).

Dan Berger is a community organizer, student and member of the Onward Collective. Contact him at [e/o\\_ONWARD](mailto:e/o_ONWARD) or at [dan@onwardnewspaper.org](mailto:dan@onwardnewspaper.org).

## Extra! Extra!

Be on the lookout for a special collaboration paper by several anarchist publishers with responses and analysis on the current situation. Out mid-October. Contact us for info.



# Infrastructure, Transcience and the Death of Anarchist Organizing in Small Town America

By Greg Wells

## THE COLLEGIATE EPIDEMIC

For over five plus years, I have worked diligently in collectives and coalitions, in groups diverse and homogenous, old and young. My hometown of Richmond, Virginia is a collapsed industrial town of 200,000 striving for an identity in this age of technological wizardry and cutthroat corporate competition. Richmond is also home to an urban inner-city arts college that serves as a focal point for thousands of predominantly middle class youth from all corners of Virginia and beyond.

Within this context, six of us came together from three separate living situations in June 1999 to plant the seeds of what is most likely the first attempt at an explicitly anarchist-based collective household in Richmond's history. The very earliest roots of an anti-authoritarian past in our city date to the late eighties. Accordingly, when I say we are starting from scratch, I mean it. In our brief time in existence, we have witnessed a new consciousness appear within our community on the importance of establishing this very important form of challenging the acceptable societal norms of what defines a family living situation. We feel we are a family in the truest sense of the word. We share, we struggle, we challenge and push one another to greater heights than we ever would have imagined just two short years ago. By the time you read this, Richmond may have as many as four of these beautifully inspiring households, all striving together and as individuals to reclaim our future from those who seek to destroy it.

In my time here in Richmond, I have watched dozens, if not hundreds of individuals zoom in and out of the local anarchist community with the rapidity of the ever-changing seasons. Unlike major urban areas like New York City or the San Francisco Bay Area, those of us who live in America's many forgotten towns rely largely upon the efforts of a small base of college-enrolled radicals. We depend heavily upon these transplants for everything from regularly scheduled programs such as Food Not Bombs' weekly meal sharing to mobilization and networking tasks. Unfortunately, it is extraordinarily rare to find a student of any ilk, anarchist or otherwise,

make the leap from their transient existence to a full-time commitment to this rapidly decaying town.

For years now, a minute handful of Richmond anarchists have feverishly sought for some lasting sense of stability. We have been fighting a frustrating but diligent battle to create and establish a sustainable infrastructure. Without infrastructure we are little more than another clique of individuals with common interests who occasion-

this same pattern playing out in college towns across the country.

This whole process has revealed that the overwhelming majority of the new student radicals are almost exclusively interested in the party, not in toppling the beast we are up against. If we were to win today, there would be no more quarterly confrontations with the bad guys. No more overblown stories of being viciously assaulted with water hoses and rubber bullets. No more props for who has the best stories.

The sheer lunacy of this is too much to handle. Are these folks too short on memory to recall what happened to a popular student uprising at UNAM in Mexico just last year where over 1,000 students were arrested and brutalized for defending their basic right to a free education? Do they have no working knowledge of what happens today to anti-government dissidents throughout the global South?!

In these communities, there is little formal capacity to seriously plan how to combat our collective enemy. While thousands of campus activists are aimlessly roaming the modern-day hobo circuit from

Asheville to Berkeley to Portland to Philadelphia, hopes of establishing any serious threat to the United States government or to capitalism are becoming terribly remote. The precise moment that the Black Panthers became the single greatest threat to national security in the United States was not a product of their police patrols in Oakland, did not result from their audacity to publicly display firearms, or even the standoff at the California State Capitol in Sacramento. Nope, not even that boldest of statements made the pigs feel the least bit threatened. The moment the Panthers began serving impoverished children free breakfasts and combating sickle cell

everyday citizens taking control of their own lives, their own communities and their own future. Just think, the Panthers had over 200 chapters of brilliant and exuberant young minds who were building and creating a better world out of the rubble that was America in 1968 and they were systematically wiped out less than five years after their inception. As anarchists faced with the technologically savvy systems of police surveillance and repression becoming common today, we've got our work cut out for us every bit as much as any previous movement in American history. If we don't get real busy real quick building alternatives which will replace the system that destroys us, we will only continue to destroy ourselves.

## THE PHILADELPHIA EQUATION

During the months of April through October of last year, the collective house I live in hosted approximately one hundred houseguests. On solo hitch hiking excursions, group train hoping expeditions and week long getaways, they poured into our home with tales of new found hope and optimism sprung from the new mass protest movement. We had somehow, somehow, become an intricate link in the web of Eastern Seaboard anarchist destinations. Nearly every one of our guests was either coming from or going to our neighbor four hours to the north, Philadelphia.

In recent years, through a steady stream of mass rallies and Mumia Abu Jamal notoriety, the city of Philadelphia has become ground zero for the suddenly swelling anarchist movement on the East Coast. After last summer's Republikkan National Convention, scores of vagabond youth decided to call Philly their new home. New squats rapidly opened in the radical hotbed of West Philadelphia. New faces appeared on the streets and at meetings with each passing week, and all is jolly and well, or is it?

With the mass migration of up-and-coming anarchists to Philadelphia, a very deep wound is being ripped into the heart of our movement nationally, namely the slow

death of the small town radical undercurrent. The departure of any prominent individual member of the Richmond anarchist community has a monumental impact on not only our ability to carry their

**This is the power that sends fear up and down the spine of the machine, the power of everyday citizens taking control of their own lives, their own communities and their own future.**

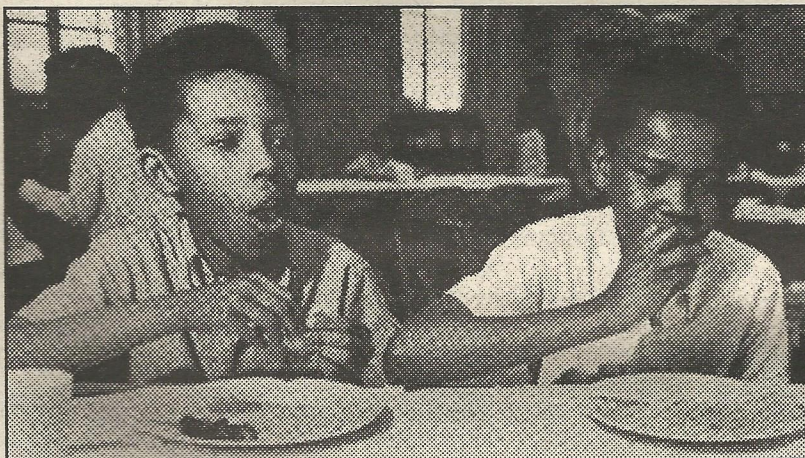
anemia in their own community was the day they became public enemy number one and the most legitimate threat to the US government.

This is the power that sends fear up and down the spine of the machine, the power of

abandoned weight, but also on our mental psyche, not to mention the more obvious problems posed by the lack of creativity, vision and zeal to create and build anew in a town where there is little history of resistance to draw upon. It takes character, originality and years of devotion to a town such as Richmond to even begin to scratch the surface of the confrontation we are faced with daily. If we want to be perceived as serious, then let's be serious.

Philadelphia has an anarchist movement that is rich with over a century of continuous struggle and sustenance. Their anarchist bookstore, the Wooden Shoe, is the longest running in North America. They have collectively-owned community spaces and homes established through a land trust. They have a strong squatting movement, a worthy anarchist publication in the *Defenestrator* and innovative and thoughtful minds pushing in a thousand different directions. Do they really need you to leave Wheeling, West Virginia and set back the tiny radical movement there back for years just so you can play soccer and show up at a token protest every three months? I don't think so. You owe it to yourself, your community and most importantly our future as a movement to build and struggle and grow right where you are. Sixteen years ago last May, the city of Philadelphia bombed a neighborhood not too far from the current central nerve center of the West Philadelphia anarchist community. It wouldn't take much for this to occur once again, and cripple us in a manner almost as devastating as the manner you will by moving to Philadelphia.

To get the latest copy of Greg's zine, Complete Control, send two well concealed dollars to: PO Box 5021 Richmond, VA, 23220. Direct all comments and questions likewise.



Black Panther Free Breakfast for Kids program

ally get together to hang out at a bar. The importance of infrastructure is reflected in our need and desire to move beyond our closed meetings in living rooms or at the university, as well as our desire to build for tomorrow as opposed to reflecting too heavily upon our movement's failures of yesteryear. This is the fuel that drives our quest to break free from our comfort zone and lay all of our posturing and half-fulfilled promises to waste.

## CONSISTENTLY INCONSISTENT

In the past year and a half since the anti-authoritarian and anti-capitalist movement's explosive public debut in Seattle, I have watched with extreme interest the rise and fall of the heavily college-based anti-globalization movement; and when I say fall of, I mean with an overbearing thud. The Richmond Anti-Globalization Network, has gone from mass meetings and video presentations of 50-75 in the spring of 2000, just before the DC A16 protests, to its current stagnant state, where curious onlookers outnumber actual working members of the organization at weekly meetings. In my travels I have observed time and again

films were generally good and the discussions fact-filled, sometimes argumentative, but civil. The Flames did their homework and regarded their film showings as an outreach project in political education.

The group put out a monthly newspaper that contained national and international stories, but they always had stories of local news and events. All Flames were expected to sell the paper. All of them worked (appropriate to their political beliefs) in blue collar jobs, at workplaces where they regularly recruited and wrote about. Most of them paid monthly dues to meet the organization's expenses. After 25 years, they are still burning although their film series halted some years back. I see some of them occasionally at the local farmers' market peddling their paper.

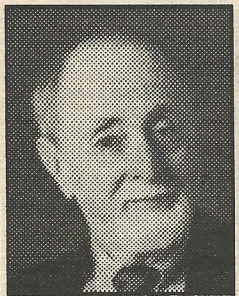
Obviously I do not, nor ever, shared their politics. Memory may also have smoothed out some rougher edges, but I respected them. They were living their revolution, and they were doing it in a manner consistent with their politics. Almost all of my good friends are anarchists. None of them

belong to an anarchist group although they all enjoy good political discussion and participate somewhat in various rallies and demonstrations. If you ask them why they are not involved, they will tell you of their negative experiences in anarchist groups "disorganized, boring, anti-intellectual, sexist, immature, elitist, and lately" I would add "suffering from white male guilt dysfunction." Would it be too strong to say that most anarchist groups lack a strong sense of group process? Would it be too strong to say that they have no commitment to working on group process? I think not. Like Descartes who

was alleged to have disappeared when asked by the bartender if he would like another drink and replied "I think not," the anarchist failure to think of matters of process may lead to their own nonexistence.

Howard J. Ehrlich is a Baltimore-based sociologist, writer and regular columnist for *ONWARD*. He edits the magazine *Social Anarchism*. All of the stories here are true. He would like to hear yours. Send your stories to him about anarchist malpractice to [sociala@nothingness.org](mailto:sociala@nothingness.org)

## Reigniting the Anarchist Flame



**Take the A Train...**

**A Column by Howard J. Ehrlich**

Once upon a time there was a Trotskyist group called "Flame." I do not believe that I have ever seen a better-organized, more committed political group. Among their political activities, they would stage a monthly political film showing at a downtown, easily accessible nondenominational church. It was a pleasure, and even a known anarchist was treated as a welcome guest.

As you entered the lobby, someone from Flame would greet you. Some of the Flames operated under pseudonyms, but the open members wore name tags. They invited attendees to do so also - "Hello my name is Howard." Around the lobby they would have posted pictures, charts, articles and other materials explaining the film they were about to show. Coffee, tea, juice and cookies were provided at small cost. And, of course, their pamphlets, buttons and other political paraphernalia were on sale. The

HELLO,  
My Name is...  
**HOWARD**







www.abcf.net

# ABCF

## ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS FEDERATION

*"Any movement that do not support their political internees is a sham movement!"*

*-Ojore Lutalo*

## PP/POW's Ask for Your Support...

Since 1994, the Warchest Program has been there to offer reliable nonpartisan financial support to us and our fellow Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War. Since then this program has relied on small regular donations and one time contributions made by Anarchist Black Cross Federation (ABCF) chapters and several other supporters. With little help, they have raised and sent us over \$30,000 in this time.

The Warchest sends regular monthly checks into those of us who have little or no other means of financial support. It's Emergency Fund also sends one time emergency checks to those of use who may not need regular support, but need one time assistance for a particular reason.

Currently, the Warchest sends monthly checks to Sekou Odinga, Herman Bell, Hanif Shabazz Bey, Ruchell Cinque Magee, Richard Williams, Russell Maroon Shoatz, Joseph JoJo Bowen, and Sekou Kambui. The Warchest also sent monthly checks to Puerto Rican POW's Ricardo Jimenez and Dylcia Pagan before their

release in 1999, as well as Canadian political prisoners Wolverine Ignace and OJ Pitawanakwat until their release from prison in 1998. It has also sent Emergency funds to Ojore Lutalo, Sundiata Acoli, David Gilbert, Thomas Manning, Jalil Muntaqim, Jaan Laaman, Yu Kikumura and Oscar Lopez Rivera. Carmen Valentin, Edwin Cortes, Adolpho Matos and Jihad Abdul Mummit also received Emergency funding from the Warchest before they were released. For some of us, the Warchest has been the only reliable source of financial support.

More recently, funding for the Warchest has been decreasing, and the program has been having a difficult time raising the funds it sends out each month. It is for this reason that we are asking that you consider supporting this program which has been supporting us and our friends when we needed it. Either a one time donation or a regular monthly contribution will help. As little as \$5, \$10 or \$15 or more if you can a month will make a huge difference in this program.

Since its inception, the Warchest has pro-

vided specific financial documentation to its donors so that they may see their contribution was received and who received the money. Those who receive money have their addresses printed and in the spirit of openness and honesty, we all encourage people to hold them accountable by writing us to make sure we are receiving the money they send.

If you are at all interested in more information, please contact Jacksonville ABCF who facilitate this program for us. Contact information is listed elsewhere. We ask that you consider supporting this program helping ensure its survival and to increase the number of us supported. Thank you...

Sekou Odinga, Ruchell Magee, Richard Williams, Sekou Kambui, Herman Bell, Hanif Shabazz Bey, Russell Shoatz, Jo-Jo Bowen, Ojore Lutalo, Sundiata Acoli, Jaan Laaman, Linda Evans, Bill Dunne, Veronza Bower, Ray Luc Levasseur, Mutulu Shakur... (more signatures to come, if you are a class war PP/POW who would like to sign this statement and hasn't get in touch with Jax ABCF)

### ABCF Contacts:

**Jacksonville ABCF**  
P.O. Box 350392  
Jacksonville, FL  
32235-0392

**Kent ABCF**  
P.O. Box 942  
Kent, OH  
44240

**NE ABCF**  
P.O. Box 8532  
Paterson, NJ  
07508

**NE ABCF**  
59 Chestnut St  
Apt 3N  
Binghamton, NY  
13905

**Cleveland ABCF**  
P.O. Box 27376  
Cleveland, OH  
44127-0376

**Philly ABCF**  
4722 Baltimore Ave.  
Philadelphia, PA  
19143

**Winnipeg ABCF**  
Box 64028,  
RPO Morse Pl  
Winnipeg, MB  
R2K 4K2 Canada

**LA ABCF**  
P.O. Box 3671  
Anaheim, CA  
92803

**NE ABCF**  
P.O. Box 891  
Lancaster, PA  
17608

**Houston ABCF**  
P.O. Box 667233  
Houston, TX  
77622-7233

## "Free" Needs Letters

Anarchist political prisoner Jeff (Free) Luers is in isolation after being jumped from behind by two other inmates at TRCI. There were injuries occurred to both parties. Letters to friends and family state that Free does not remember exactly what happened and what he does remember does not match the reports.

He suffered a broken nose and precautions were taken fearing that his jaw was broken, though he thinks it probably is not. In a later call to a nurse it was confirmed that he was now able to eat. At this time he is not allowed visits or phone calls, he can not receive books, but can get mail. We are asking all supporters to please write

him and show your support. Remember that they are in there for us, we are out here for them.

**Contact Free at:**  
**Jeffrey Luers**  
**#13797671 / TRCI**  
**82911 Beach Access Rd.**  
**Umatilla, OR 97882**

Letters alerting the governor of Oregon of Jeff's case and unfair sentencing are also appreciated. For sample letters please write to **blastedagronaut@aol.com**. Kitzhaber has begun to take notice to the letters stacking up on his desk and more can only help.



## Tear Down the Walls!!!

**Havana, Cuba**

**March 26-30, 2002**

Hosted by OSPAAAL - Organization of Solidarity with the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America

Tear Down the Walls will be an unprecedented international convocation on behalf of approximately 100 political prisoners and prisoners of war (PPOWS) who are currently behind bars in the United States. Participants from around the world will come together to learn, strategize and join the fight to win amnesty for these women and men who are some of the longest-held political prisoners in the world.

Hosted by OSPAAAL, an organization which spans three continents, and sponsored by a broad coalition of U.S.-based groups, the conference will shine an international spotlight on the United States' record of persecution of those who struggle for social change.

**Who Are PP/POWs?**

The PPOWs are women and men incarcerated because of their involvement in political activities which challenged the unjust nature of the U.S. socioeconomic system and its hegemonic policies around the world. Most political prisoners have been in prison since the 60's and 70's when the U.S. government's domestic counter-insurgency COINTELPRO program was initiated to destroy liberation movements inside the U.S. by targeting their leadership.

The majority of the PPOWS are Black/New Afrikan, and there are also Puerto Ricans, Native Americans, Chicano/Mejicanos and North Americans. There are PPOWS from the religious activist communities and those incarcerated as a

result of recent resistance to U.S. policies. There are also political fugitives living in exile who need to be defended and protected. The political prisoners have been inflicted with disproportionately long sentences, isolation, and sensory deprivation. They have been criminalized and denied their basic human rights under international law.

### Human Rights Violations

The political prisoners are part of the massive, racist prison industrial complex, which incarcerates over 2 million people and represents the ugly face of globalization within the borders of the U.S. The same government which spearheaded COINTELPRO is sponsoring massive incarceration as a method of exploiting, controlling and disrupting entire communities.

The United States masquerades as a protector of human rights and democracy in order to justify its assaults against other nations such as its continuing embargo of Cuba, its support for Israeli aggression against Palestine, and its growing intervention in Colombia. The U.S. uses the issue of human rights abuses and political prisoners in other countries as a key propaganda tool with which to leverage social and economic control over other nations, particularly those which represent a political challenge.

At this juncture in history, as George Bush, the "king of executioners," has assumed the presidency through a blatantly manipulated election, it is imperative for those of us living inside US borders to work together with international forces to expose and resist the aggressive and repressive character of the U.S. system.

## anarchist people of color

The new Anarchist People of Color website has launched, and we welcome your comments, links, etc. The site is at: <http://www.illegalvoices.org/apoc/> The site emerged from the APOC discussion list, and serves to encapsulate many discussions and tendencies in the movement - from globalization to tenant/poverty-rights organizing to articulating the need for more people of color in the movement to networking with fellow anarchists of color. We provide a variety of content, news and links and your visit is welcomed.

In September, the APOC became home to three legendary anarchist texts.

"Anarchism and the Black Revolution" by Lorenzo Komboa Ervin is among the most influential text of the contemporary anarchist movement. In 1979, wrote a series of pamphlets designed to explain Anarchism to a totally new audience which included the new generation of anarchists. In those pamphlets, which would become "Anarchism and the Black Revolution," Komboa criticized the North American anarchist movement for being too white, too middle class and too intellectual and challenged activists to develop a new set of strategies and tactics aimed at broadening the revolutionary movement. The text influenced many radicals over the years, and the online edition will be presented with a new preface and introduction by anarchists of color influenced by Lorenzo's work. In addition, PDF versions will be available for study groups, dis-

cussion and distribution.

The Anarchist People of Color site wishes to thank Lorenzo Komboa Ervin for permission to distribute this free version of his book.

"African Anarchism: The History of A Movement" by Sam Mbah and I.E. Igariwey is the first book-length treatment of anarchism and Africa. The authors, members of Nigeria's legendary Awareness League, argue that anarchism provides a coherent framework with which to comprehend and respond to the multiple crises afflicting the continent.

"Cuban Anarchism: The History of A Movement" by Frank Fernandez addresses Cuba's lost history of anarchist organizing. Anarchists bore primary responsibility for organizing workers in Cuba's most important industries, tobacco and sugar. At the height of their influence in the 1920s, Cuba's anarchists controlled the Cuban union movement, provided free, non-religious schools for poor children, provided gathering places for Cuba's working class, organized campesinos into unions and agricultural collectives and published newspapers and magazines across the island. Later, they would take an active part in the resistance to the Machado, Batista, and Castro dictatorships.

The Anarchist People of Color site wishes to thank See Sharp Press: <http://www.seesharppress.com/> for permission in distributing the latter two texts.

## THIS JUST IN...

### News from Polish ABC's...

Anarcho syndicalist activist Dominik S. from Szczecin, Poland had been charged with incitement to criminal acts.

The reason for the charge was a paper called "Shipyard worker" edited by Dominik and distributed in the shipyard where he works. Bosses apparently couldn't stand that his propaganda is taking effect and someone is informing fellow workers about their rights.

We'll inform you about progress

**ABC Bialystok**  
e-mail: [soja2@poczta.onet.pl](mailto:soja2@poczta.onet.pl)

### Standing Deer is Paroled

Robert Standing Deer Wilson was paroled on September 4th and is living in Houston.

Standing Deer is a longtime comrade of Leonard Peltier and, in fact, exposed a federal plot of kill Peltier some years ago. He has been a tireless social justice advocate and, despite his very poor health, has been an unwavering voice for freedom.

Thanks to everyone who has worked for Standing Deer's release over the years. This victory reminds us why our efforts are critical.



# GENOA...

continued from page 7

people were preparing to march from half a dozen different locations to the “red zone,” that section of the city surrounding the old Ducal Palace where the G8 leaders were meeting. The marchers ranged from radical labor unions and reformist groups like the French ATTAC to pagans and a theatrical “pink bloc.” Ya Basta! had marshaled a column perhaps 10,000 strong. Some simply intended to march up to the wall, others to blockade the entrances. Still others were determined to get past the elaborate fortifications. By the end of the day, every single group had been assaulted by the police. The police strategy was clearly planned well in advance. What made this situation distinctly abnormal was that this time, the police had provided a “Black Bloc” of their own. Over and over, on Saturday came reports of a mysterious group of 30 to 40 “anarchists” whom nobody had seen before; huge guys, for the most part, and extraordinarily violent – willing, even, to physically assault other (real) anarchists who tried to stop them from attacking small shops and setting fire to cars.

By the end of the day, after countless sightings of these “Black Blockers” emerging from police stations, hobnobbing with carabinieri or assisting with arrests, the only question was whether they were dealing with undercover cops or fascist vigilantes working with the police (the tendency of carabinieri stations to sport portraits of Mussolini and fascist insignia inside suggested this might have been a somewhat blurry distinction).

The phony bloc would suddenly appear, smashing windows and overturning dumpsters, right next to each column the cops wanted to attack; the police themselves would show up a few minutes afterward and proceed to lob massive amounts of high-intensity tear gas and pepper spray into the area just after the phony bloc left; this would be followed by baton charges meant to break bones and splatter blood. Pacifists were charged while holding out palms painted white; a women’s march was attacked after performing a spiral dance ceremony. Ya Basta!, who came in a column headed by giant eight-foot plexiglas shields borne by padded youths in motorcycle helmets, was entirely unprepared for the intensity of the chemical warfare – much worse than anything used in Italy before. They arrived with musicians and even padded dogs, aiming simply to march up to the red zone and perhaps push at the barricades once they got there.

Under past Social Democratic regimes, the police often seemed bemused by such games; now, the attitude was completely different. Police cut off the march and started a major gas attack, lobbing shells like mortar fire well behind the front lines: people started collapsing and vomiting behind their shields; at the front, police were firing gas canisters like bullets directly at people’s heads and, eventually, shooting live ammunition.

With the march stopped in its tracks, many people (myself included) started exploring side streets looking for a way around; carabinieri helicopters were dropping tear gas canisters like bombs overhead, but their numbers on the ground, in those twisty streets and tiny piazzas, were much smaller. Angry protesters, and even angrier local residents who did not appreciate the massive use of chemical weapons on their apartments, started throwing stones; on several streets, the police had to beat a hasty retreat; on others, there was

veritable hand-to-hand combat. It was in the ensuing chaos that Carlo Giuliani was shot and killed.

As soon as they heard that someone had died, Ya Basta! pulled their people out. This was not the sort of battle they had come for. But battles continued to rage for the rest of that day and into the next. Near the convergence center at Kennedy Plaza, people started setting fire to banks; what was supposed to be a peaceful march on Saturday ended in a pitched battle where hundreds of people threw rocks and bottles at the carabinieri, who could only dislodge them by bringing up a tank. That evening ended with a midnight raid on the Independent Media Center, in which the police’s fascist brutality were unleashed on sleeping activists.

No one knows why the Italian police raided the IMC. It might have been a sheer act of terrorism. It might have been because they were aware that videographers inside had compiled a good deal of compromising footage of the phony Black Bloc working with police. The latter would explain why, once inside, they put so much energy into appropriating every video cassette in sight. (If so, it was all to no avail – footage of “anarchists” emerging from a police station appeared on the nightly news in Italy a few days later.) The IMC was a five-story building – donated, oddly enough, by the city government – which contained a clinic, space for press conferences, radio stations, offices for writers, film editing, and one suite being used by the Genoa Social Forum, an umbrella group that coordinated arrangements for the protests, and which had mainly concerned itself with managing a nearby welcoming center and sponsoring an ongoing five-day lecture series about democratic alternatives to corporate globalization.

There, the amount of damage the police could do was limited by the fortuitous presence of a Minister of the European Parliament. (“When she held out her identity card,” one eyewitness reported, “it was like holding up a cross to vampires.”) They still held everyone in detention for most of an hour while they appropriated films and documents. Across the street, however, was a “safe space,” an unused schoolhouse in which at least a hundred activists were sleeping and preparing food; there, the police allowed their allies to take off their black sweatshirts (revealing “polizia” T-shirts) and go on a total rampage, beating sleeping teen-agers, leaving shattered bodies, broken bones and pools of blood.

Everyone inside was arrested, many carried out on stretchers. Like almost everyone arrested in Genoa (many of them actually removed from hospital beds and carried off to jail), they returned to their own countries reporting systematic torture. The police justified it all by saying they were raiding the offices of the Genoa Social Forum, ‘nerve center of the violent Black Bloc activity.’ And sure enough, the next day Reuters headlines affirmed: “Genoa Police Raid Headquarters of Violent Protesters.”



photo from www.indymedia.org

Police arrest activists from the IndyMedia Center during the G8 protests

The anti-globalization movement (or what people within it are just calling the “globalization” movement) is trying to change the direction of history – ultimately, the very structure of society – without resorting to weapons. What makes this feasible is globalization itself: the increasing speed with which it is possible to move people, possessions and ideas around.

What politicians and the corporate press call “globalization,” of course, is really the creation and maintenance of institutions (the WTO, G8 summits, the IMF) meant to limit and control that process so as to guarantee it produces nothing that would discomfit a tiny governing elite: tariffs can be lowered, but immigration restrictions have to be increased; large corporations are free to take profits wherever and however they like, but any ideas about forms of economic organization that would not look like large profit-seeking corporations must be strictly censored, etc. The threat of real global democracy is probably their greatest fear, and the unprecedented growth of the movement – Seattle was considered huge at 50,000 protesters; Genoa, a year and a half later, drew perhaps 200,000 – must seem utterly terrifying.

This is why the battle of images is so strategic. “Protection” for activists can never consist primarily of foam rubber padding. When the state really wishes to take off the gloves, it can. Violence is something states do very well. If their hands are tied, it is because centuries of political struggle have produced a situation in which politicians and police have to be at least minimally responsive to a public that has come to believe that living in a civilized society means living in one in which young idealists cannot, in fact, be murdered in their beds. It is precisely this kind of padding that the rulers of our world are now frantically trying to strip away.

Will it succeed? This remains to be seen. Signs in Europe are actually rather hopeful. The media have begun to tell the real story of what happened. The governments of France and Germany are putting intense pressure on the Italian government to explain what happened to their nationals in Italian jails; huge marches have occurred in every major Italian city. It is a bit sobering, however, to observe that the US media ultimately proved far more willing to defend fascist thuggery than their counterparts in the actual lands once governed by Petain, Hitler and Mussolini.

David Graeber is a professor at Yale University and works with Ya Basta!, Direct Action Network and other groups. This article originally appeared in *In These Times*, [www.inthesetimes.com](http://www.inthesetimes.com)

# Strategic Resistance...

continued from page 4

sessions also provided forums for activists with common interests, professions, and callings to meet and ‘alter-network.’ On Sunday, Los Angeles filmmaker Jessica Lawless premiered her uncut draft documentary video production ‘Paint It Black’, which deals with issues of media constructions of anarchism and blackness, and with larger questions of race and identity within the movement. The film was received boisterously and enthusiastically by 50 or so viewers who smiled, danced, and cheered through it.

On the whole, most participants seemed to be pleased with how the conference went. Nearly everyone recognized that the stated goals of the meeting were laudable, if overly optimistic. Most acknowledged that while the conference missed some of these targets, (and was interrupted briefly while organizers confronted an incident of perceived sexual harassment), it certainly succeeded in terms of the overall good will and solidarity of the participants, and in the general absence of the sort of unproductive, confrontational behavior that is too often common in such gatherings. Given that the conference was convened in large part to address issues of white supremacy and gender hierarchies among anarchists and anti-authoritarians, it was not surprising that these issues pervaded much of the weekend’s discussions and conversations. Several activists of color publicly denounced the overwhelming white com-

position of the movement against corporate globalization generally, and within the anarchist and anti-authoritarian movements specifically. More than one suggested that future trans-racial and trans-ethnic alliances were being jeopardized by the failure of white activists to vigorously confront these issues in their organizations, interpersonal relationships, and personal attitudes. Such observations seemed to strike an uncomfortable chord with most of the white activists at the conference. Some provoked more controversy, as when a Latino organizer described attending an uncomfortable meeting where white women had displayed pictures of men, including men of color, who had been accused of domestic abuse. A good deal of confessional dialogue broke out after Dan, from the Midnight Special law collective in Oakland, circulated a widely praised ‘open letter to other men in the movement’ about how men tend to act in political meetings, entitled ‘Shut the Fuck Up.’

Several LGBT and women activists, as well as many activists of color reported that their respective caucuses provided their first real opportunity to meet with large groups of anarchists and anti-authoritarians who shared their self-identification. Speakers in these caucuses raised a number of issues that many felt have been downplayed or ignored altogether in more conventional political settings where – even among radicals and anarchists – white heterosexual males tend to comprise the numerical majority. One

frequently mentioned issue concerned the way even radical white activists often unconsciously assume the validity of white cultural norms. These can include not only subtly hierarchical Euro-American ways of organizing, interacting, and communicating, but even many ‘radical,’ ‘anti-authoritarian,’ or other ‘alternative’ ways of acting consciously adopted by white activists, as well. “Just being conscious of how culture and identity are continually being played out, and not taking these for granted is something that came up a lot in the folks of color groups”, said Shawn McDougal. “This doesn’t mean that culture and identity are fixed,” he added. “We need a more conscious pluralism, where we can create them ourselves, where its pretty much DIY when it comes to identity and culture. We need to get beyond the enemies vs. allies thing, by recognizing that struggle is also at the level of consciousness, not just who’s in charge.”

Covert political assumptions and stereotypes are another problem, and they can cut in many different directions. In one role-playing workgroup, for example, participants worked through a hypothetical case study that involved trying to organize an ethnically diverse working class community to stop the siting of a toxic waste dump there. One activist of color chided white comrades for acting on the assumption that revolutionary options were excluded from consideration, and for underestimating the genuinely revolutionary sentiments actually present in communities of color. In the same session, an Afri-

can-American speaker insisted that while conducting the exercise, activists should confront the (typically privileged, white) environmentalist prejudices built into the scenario the group was playing out, by considering the possibility that the jobs created by the hypothetical toxic waste dump might be preferred by that community to the dangers of locating it there.

This should not imply that the overall informality, friendliness, and good spirits of the conference were undermined by confrontation and frank exchanges. Self-deprecating humor was part of the show, as when one speaker alluded to the psychological game activists often play with themselves of trying to give themselves ‘identity legitimacy’ by “counting up the ways I’m privileged and subtracting from this the number of potentially discriminated-against groups I’m a member of, and hoping that this will add up to being oppressed.” Several sharp-tongued wags were periodically overheard issuing biting commentaries on the jargon, political presumptuousness, ‘scene language’, and other pretensions of some activists.

Jose, a Bay Area activist and documentary filmmaker, reported that “What was really inspirational to me was how challenging some of the conversations at the caucuses were, and how they spilled over beyond the organized discussions. One night we stayed up until 2 a.m. talking about strategy and tactics, and then went to a show and discussed these issues with the kids we met there.”



# Red Army Faction...

continued from page 13

ment rejected their demands. The day-long standoff ends when a massive explosion rocks the building. RAF member Ulrich Wessel, 29, the son of a millionaire, died in the explosion. Another member died in the hospital from burns. Police later concluded that the explosives had gone off by mistake. Later that year, the trial of Baader, Meinhof, Raspe and Ensslin began. In 1975, the trial of Baader, Meinhof, Raspe and Ensslin began. It would be the longest, most expensive trial in German history. After the 106th day of the trial (May 9, 1976), Ulrike Meinhof was found hanged in her cell, an apparent suicide.

On April 7, 1977, as Germany's Federal Prosecutor General Siegfried Buback (equivalent to the US Attorney General) was being driven to work, a motorcycle pulls beside the car at a red light and a passenger opened fire with an automatic weapon. Buback, his driver and another employee in the car were killed. The RAF claimed responsibility. Later that month, Baader, Ensslin and Raspe were found guilty of murder and other crimes, and sentenced to life imprisonment. That same month, Baader, Ensslin and Raspe were found guilty of murder and other crimes, and sentenced to life imprisonment.

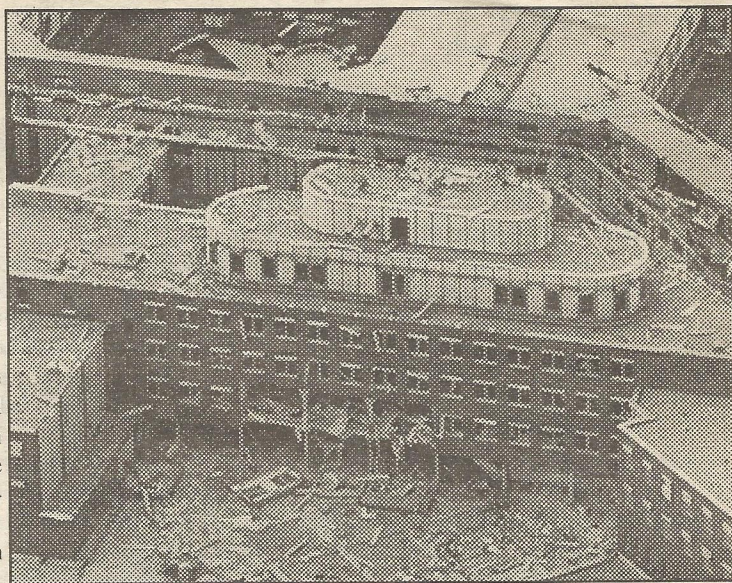
In late July, 1977, Jurgen Ponto, Chairman of the Dresdner Bank, was killed at his home during a kidnap attempt. It's later learned that one of the attackers, Susanne Albrecht, was a family friend of the Ponto's. A police commissioner explained, "There is no capitalist who does not have a terrorist in his own intimate circle of friends or relations." In September, Hanns-Martin Schleyer, President of the West German employers' and industry federations, and a Board member of the Daimler-Benz Corp., considered one of the most powerful men in Germany, was kidnapped on his way home from work in Cologne. His driver and three police escorts were shot dead during the ambush. In the 1940s, Schleyer was a member of the Nazi Party and the SS. The kidnapers demanded the release of eleven RAF prisoners. In October, a Lufthansa plane with 87 on board headed for Frankfurt was hijacked by four Palestinians after taking off from the Spanish island of Majorca. Apparently working in coordination with the Schleyer kidnapers, the hijackers also demanded the release of German prisoners. After several refueling stops, the plane finally landed in Mogadishu, the capital of So-

malia, and the pilot was killed by the frustrated hijackers. On the fifth day of the hijacking, a German anti-terrorism unit stormed the plane and kill three of the hijackers, wounding the fourth. All of the passengers were safe.

The next morning, October 18, guards discovered Andreas Baader and Jan-Carl Raspe dead of gunshot wounds; Gudrun Ensslin was found hanged with speaker cable; another prisoner, Irmgard Moller, was found with four stab wounds in her chest, but alive. Questions still remain about what happened, such as how the prisoners obtained pistols in what was supposed to be Germany's most secure prison. Some believe the prisoners were murdered, others that it was suicide due to the failure of the plots to win their freedom. Schleyer's body was found October 19 in the trunk of an abandoned car in a French border town. A communiqué follows, "After 43 days, we have ended Hanns-Martin Schleyer's miserable and corrupt existence."

An appropriate epitaph for the Red Army Faction would include the words of current prisoner Rolf Wagner, who described the RAF as "an attempt to move away from burdensome ideology and feelings of powerlessness toward real attacks." The RAF did not hesitate to confront "the daily terrorism of capitalism" with violence. But among their contemporaries in the radical left in Germany, it wasn't the RAF's use of violence, but rather their elitism and arrogance that was most criticized. By not engaging in significant dialogue with legal activists, the RAF became increasingly politically isolated, and their violence became self-justifying. In their 1998 statement they admitted, "It was a strategic error not to build up a social-political organization next to the illegal, armed one."

Another criticism was that the RAF's actions were abstract and far removed from any concrete goal, political or otherwise. They were more clear about what they were against than what they were for. In contrast, the Revolutionary Cells (RZ), another German left-wing group active in the 1970's and 80s, encouraged a small-scale, populist militancy, and simple, easy-to-copy attacks. Because they felt that going underground was self-defeating, and most RZ members had a legal identity, they were dubbed "feierabendterroristen," or after-hours terrorists. RZ argued that actions need to be understood, and instead of aiming for worldwide revolution, targets had to be related to local protests and clearly



Women's prison destroyed by RAF in 1993

strengthen the liberation struggle.

What does the RAF experience teach today's revolutionaries? There are many questions. Can actions only have a symbolic value, or do actions need to be paired with realistic objectives? Is the sympathy and support of "the masses" necessary, or even desirable? Rolf Wagner has said that he believes it is futile to hope to engage the working class in revolutionary struggle. Is a vanguard necessary to challenge a movement's boundaries?

Solidarity with the activists of the past, and especially with the prisoners, is important and necessary, but it should be a critical solidarity. We need to understand the RAF's mistakes and contradictions (not least of which is murder as a tactic to build a better society), but also to acknowledge the possibilities of armed struggle.

RAF prisoners: (All addresses are in Germany)

Christian Klar  
Schonbornstr. 32  
76646 Bruchsal

Birgit Hogefeld  
Obere Kreuzackerstr. 4  
60435 Frankfurt

Rolf Heissler  
Ludwigshafenerstr. 20  
67227 Frankenthal

Brigitte Mohnhaupt  
Munchnerstr. 33  
86551 Aichach

Rolf-Clemens Wagner  
Paradeplatz 5  
34613 Schwalmstadt

Eva Haule  
Obere Kreuzackerstr. 4  
60435 Frankfurt

Andrea Klump (she has requested not to be listed at this time; supporters have a website: [www.andrea-klump.de](http://www.andrea-klump.de))



Poster of wanted RAF members

## CLASSIFIEDS

The Classifieds section is a chance for activists to alert the rest of the world to their publications, events and activities at a low cost. Please send your classifieds listing plus a couple bucks to ONWARD attn: Classifieds. Listings should be 10-50 words max.

### PUBLICATIONS & BOOKLETS

#### COLLECTIVE LIBERATION ON MY MIND:

#### A COLLECTION OF ESSAYS ON RACE, CLASS, GENDER AND ANARCHISM.

A 64p. booklet of essays by Chris Crass struggling with the challenges of developing critical political analysis and radical organizing practice based in an understanding of race, class and gender. These essays look at anti-racism and feminist politics as the necessary catalysts to building movements that can transform society.

**To Order:** send \$2.50 to Kersplebedeb Distribution, CP 63560, CCCP Van Horne, Montreal Quebec, Canada, H3W 3H8 or [info@kersplebedeb.com](mailto:info@kersplebedeb.com)

#### REGENERATION

#### Attention Los Angeles!

The movement now has a new monthly anarchist newsletter called *Regeneration*.

**To Order:** (\$5 for a yearly subscription in the US, and \$10 yearly elsewhere) PO Box 91691 Pasadena, CA 91109 [regeneration@disinfo.net](mailto:regeneration@disinfo.net)



#### THE NORTHEASTERN ANARCHIST

Magazine of the Northeastern Federation of Anarcho-Communists. 56 pages of news, theory, strategy, analysis and reviews.

**To order:** send \$4 (\$5 Canadian) to The NEA PO Box 230685 Boston MA 02123 <http://flag.blackened.net/nefac> [sabate36@juno.com](mailto:sabate36@juno.com) Subscriptions are \$15 annually in US, \$18 elsewhere. Distro rates available.

#### 2002 Political Prisoner/Prisoner of War Calendar

An english language calendar representing freedom fighters from liberation movements and self-determination struggles in Puerto Rico, Mexico, the US and Canada that helps put the growing anti-globalisation movement in historical context and examines the continued criminalisation of resistance. All proceeds go to medical support for political prisoners. Available in November 2001.

**To order:** Send \$15/individual (\$25/organization) to Calendar Committee c/o QPIRG Concordia, 2130 Mackay, Rm 102, Montreal PQ, H3G 2J1, Canada or [freppcalendar@onebox.com](mailto:freppcalendar@onebox.com). Send \$3 shipping for first calendar, \$1 for each additional copy.

#### Direct Action

36 page, uncompromisingly anti-capitalist quarterly magazine. Packed with anarcho-syndicalist ideas, news, actions and comment not in the mainstream. For a global community based on mutual respect and solidarity. Written, produced and printed under direct worker's control by the DA Collective.

**To order:** Global sub £15 from DA, PO Box 29, SW PDO, Manchester, M15 5HW England.

Check out [www.direct-action.org.uk](http://www.direct-action.org.uk) and related sites: [www.solfed.org.uk](http://www.solfed.org.uk); [www.selfed.org.uk](http://www.selfed.org.uk)

#### Kuwasi

#### Balagoon:

#### A Soldier's Story

Published by Solidarity, this book is a collection of trial statements, letters, articles, poems and drawings from the now-deceased anarchist and Black Liberation Army member. Offers valuable insight on anti-racism, armed struggle, anarchism and possibilities for the future.

**To order:** send \$5 to Kersplebedeb CP 63560 CCCP Van Horne Montreal, Quebec Canada, H3W 3H8 [www.kersplebedeb.com](http://www.kersplebedeb.com) [info@kersplebedeb.com](mailto:info@kersplebedeb.com)

### ANNOUNCING

#### 3RD ANNUAL NEW ENGLAND ANARCHIST BOOKFAIR

Saturday, November 3, 9am-6pm, at Hampshire College, Amherst, MA.

**SPEAKERS:** Martha Ackelsburg, Jaggi Singh, Cynthia Peters, Alexis Buss, Michael Albert, Noel Ignatiev, Chip Berlet, Barry Pateman, Fly and more to be announced.

**BOOKSELLERS and ORGANIZATIONS:** NEFAC, IWW, Food For Thought books, Perennial Books, AK Press, Lucy Parson Center, Prison Book Project, Black Star North, Institute of Social Ecology, Institute for Anarchists Studies and many others.

**CONTACT:** [anarchobook@yahoo.com](mailto:anarchobook@yahoo.com), (413) 549-9418, [www.homemadejam.org/](http://www.homemadejam.org/) [anarchobook.html](http://anarchobook.html)

CHILDCARE WILL BE AVAILABLE

#### 35th Anniversary Black Panther Party Reunion

October 11-14, University of the District of Columbia. For more info, contact: It's About Time, PO Box 221100, Sacramento CA 95882 [itsabouttime3@juno.com](mailto:itsabouttime3@juno.com) (916) 455-0908 [itsabouttimebpp.com](http://itsabouttimebpp.com)

## ONWARD Distribution

Get these great radical books and publications for your house, infoshop or store! We have a limited supply so order soon! A full catalog of the materials we distribute is available from our website. (Minimum order \$2)

★ **ABC OF ANARCHISM**, By Alexander Berkman. This is way more than ABCs! (\$10)

★ **ACTIVE TRANSFORMATION**: A direct action anarchist newspaper. (\$1)

★ **ANARCHISM AND ANARCHIST COMMUNISM**, By Peter Kropotkin. Two awesome essays! (\$6)

★ **ARSENAL**: A magazine of Anarchist strategy and culture. (\$2)

★ **BARRICADE**: Revolutionary Leftist Publication of the Barricada Collective. (\$1)

★ **BRINGING DEMOCRACY HOME**: Booklet of 6 essays on direct-democracy, the anti-globalization movement and social revolution. A must have! (\$3)

★ **CLAMOR**: Great magazine of radical voices on art, culture, photography, politics and music. (\$2)

★ **COLLECTIVE LIBERATION ON MY MIND**, By Chris Crass. Essays on forging an anti-racist, democratic, feminist, queer liberationist and ecological praxis. (\$3)

★ **KUWASI BALAGOON: A SOLDIER'S STORY**: The most comprehensive collection of writings by this now-deceased brave and brilliant anarchist. (\$5)

★ **MY ENEMY'S ENEMY- ESSAYS ON GLOBALIZATION, FASCISM AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST CAPITALISM**: Important critique against Right-Left coalitions. (\$5)

★ **THE NORTHEASTERN ANARCHIST**: Magazine of the NorthEastern Federation of Anarcho-Communists (\$2)

★ **ONWARD**: The best damn newspaper you'll ever read! Great articles, superb layout, your life is meaningless without a copy. Every issue. (\$1)

\* We have pamphlets on many different topics. Send a couple bucks for some, or see our website for titles.



# Anarchist Irrelevancy...

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children is not an effective use of time for a revolutionary movement. There is much to be learned from the Black Panthers, and every other example of community organized schooling, and mutual aid in practice. The history is there, we don't need to reinvent the wheel. Although, we will need to adapt it to make it more egalitarian, more functional. This is the imperative of anarchism, to engage in mutual aid and to learn from the past, use what works and continue to adapt everything else to what best allows for freedom, and organic growth of the individual.

Up until now, I have been unable to stay at home with my oldest son and un-school him. He is now 15 years old and doesn't want to be home schooled, so he's in public school. After all of these years of participating in the school system, I finally decided recently that I would never again make that mistake if I can help it. My family is quite privileged inasmuch as we can even consider unschooling our two younger boys. However, we are also just making it week-to-week, selling plasma twice a week for miscellaneous living expenses, juggling from month to month to prevent this utility or that one from being shut off. So, things could change at any time. And things are much worse for most. I am told all the time by single mothers how much they would love to home school their kids, but they can't because they must work. School has acted for me and many others as a "free" day care.

Let's also start talking about what we could do to help improve community life for anarchists in the here and now, and provide a living example and support for families in the main. What form this takes will completely depend on the community that you live in or want to live in. We could have networks of people who seek to cooperatively purchase urban buildings with space for living, building meaningful employment, and playing and learning with children. We should be working on childcare co-operatives, schooling co-operatives, organic food co-operatives. How about the simple act of choosing to make empowering information available to everyone for free? How about teaching classes for free (with childcare provided) to help with every day issues that working class families encounter such as anger management, conflict resolution, cooking with whole foods, nutrition's effect on you and your family including supposed "attention deficit hyperactivity disorder" and depression, communication skills, alternatives to corporate "medicine," bike and car repair, DIY clothing making. The possibilities are endless. How about forming groups to help collectively cook for and entertain children, visit



the elderly and other homebound or otherwise forgotten people? Resource sharing – including time for work parties and field trips for kids, tools libraries, clothing, lending libraries and so on – is a must. Even if these were organized among a small group of families, or even between two families, the resultant time pressure release and support would be of enormous value to those involved.

These are acts of solidarity. Why am I afraid to talk about this to anarchists? The idea that I feel defensive about my "anarchness" would suggest being exposed to a sixth grade atmosphere, not a mature movement.

I don't think that we can afford to address the issue of "anarchist parenting" as though we are trying to formulate a consensus path or an anarchist how-to for discipline, et. al. and avoid all of the underlying issues and practical work desperately needed. Parents are too overburdened as it is; we cannot do this work alone, we need help.

Choosing to work together on these issues is not some kind of abstract gift to families; it is necessary work for the anarchist movement and humanity as a whole. How can we possibly expect people who are too overworked, isolated and lacking support to also do the tons of work necessary to become a truly revolutionary movement? We can't. I want to know, do "we" (anarchists) believe that we don't need working class families and other hand-to-mouthers in this movement? Are they unwanted? If the answer is no, then we will have to work together to reduce the burdens of the mundane and enrich the social fabric so that the Revolution will have the energy and creativity to emerge.

Trina Clemente spends her life of quiet desperation in a social vacuum. She can be reached there by writing to [evolve@spitfire.net](mailto:evolve@spitfire.net)

<sup>1</sup>Please see an Anarchist FAQ at <http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/1931>, Section J.1.2 for a discussion on how some anarchists feel about reforms which better people's lives vs. the trap of reformism.

<sup>2</sup>"The oppressed either asked for and welcome improvements as a benefit graciously conceded, recognize the legitimacy of the power which is over them, and so do more harm than good by helping to slow down, or divert the process of emancipation. Or instead they demand and impose improvements *by their own action* (emphasis added), and welcome them as partial victories over the class enemy, using them as a spur to greater achievements, and thus a valid help and a preparation to the total overthrow of privilege, that is, for the Revolution." - Errico Malatesta, *Life and Ideas*, p. 81.

<sup>3</sup>For more information on unschooling, which is a distinct movement within homeschooling, see [www.geocities.com/Athens/8259/unschool.html](http://www.geocities.com/Athens/8259/unschool.html) or [www.unschooling.com](http://www.unschooling.com)

# ACA...

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imprisoned died due to the denial of insulin. Other deaths have also been reported resulting from PHS neglect. Philadelphia prisons are covered entirely by PHS, though three lawsuits are pending against them.

The week also provided various roaming street theaters, demonstrations and vigils held by Pennsylvania Abolitionists Against the Death Penalty.

The last hurrah came during the ACA's Closing Plenary Session. Merely responding to the ad placed by the ACA that asked anyone with an "interest in reducing violence or restoring offenders" to attend, protestors attempted to join the ACA at their final meeting of the conference. They made demands, engaged in discussions (or tried to) with individual ACA members and handed out lists of their demands. The ACA members responded as expected: the cops were called in and a dozen protestors were handcuffed. Yet in a more surreal moment, ACA members began singing the "Star Spangled Banner" to silence the protestors' demands (though most didn't know the words). They also tried singing Kenny Rogers' classic "The Gambler": "You gotta know when to hold 'em/Know when to fold 'em." Three individuals arrested were not part of the party crashing, including two Indymedia reporters and another man who merely tried to walk away from the ruckus.

Fast forward one month and I'm working in a school where second grade classes are packed with 34 kids. This, though there are empty classrooms and teachers being let go. I don't know what happened to Mike or his father. But it's clear that the politicians' priorities are not on serving the public interest. Philly Mayor John Street recently turned down money from the state for education. Meanwhile he maintains a \$25 million contract with PHS (a corrupt prison HMO), welcomes with open arms a prison lobbying group, routinely defends a blatantly brutal and rotten-to-the-core police force (the cops who beat and bludgeoned Thomas Jones last year were acquitted of all charges, though the video displays a crew of muscle-bound meatheads in blue pounding away on the shot and kicked-down man), and works to have prisons and baseball stadiums built.

Ultimately the ACA summarizes the perception of the powerful in this country when it declares jubilantly: "The corrections market is growing due to skyrocketing offender populations." Crime is a commodity, corporations profit.

The ACA will hold its next Congress of Corrections in San Antonio, TX from January 12-26, 2002.

<sup>1</sup> The statistics comparing education and prison spending are not an endorsement of government or a defense of institutionalized education. I include them merely to illustrate the disparity in the federal government's preference of who in this nation deserves funding.

## LETTERS TO ONWARD:

### ANTI-"REFORMISM" HAS GOTTEN OUT OF HAND

Dear *ONWARD*,

Fact 1: Capitalism sucks.

Fact 2: Free Trade sucks worse.

Fact 3. Most people who discover fact 2 will eventually realize fact 1.

Anti-"reformism" is becoming a witch-hunt at a time when the vast majority of people living in "developed countries" don't even think capitalism *needs* to be reformed. Ask around. See how many random people are seriously concerned about the current global economic order. Most of the working class is still more conservative than the middle and even upper classes, and you are more likely to find Joe Schmoe at a VFW fish fry than a protest.

The key to truly threatening capitalism is to create a mass – no, a *majority* movement against free trade, corporate welfare, economic imperialism, etc. Anti-globalization has the potential to really mobilize the masses. At this time, revolutionary anti-capitalism is not yet a realistic goal, because there are simply not enough activists, radical or otherwise. Unfortunately, many potential activists are frightened off by the militant atmosphere of many college anti-globalization groups. If we created an environment that encouraged radical thought, but did not marginalize more mainstream activists, more people would be willing to get involved, and many of these people would eventually go radical when they are ready to take that step for themselves. I became radicalized after joining Amnesty International. I felt comfortable to explore the world of progressive thought without being pressured to become a radical. If I had read an anti-capitalist pamphlet before learning about globalization, I wouldn't have gotten it at all, and the movement would have one less activist.

Progressive trade policy will not only create very important reforms that will make life better for the world's most oppressed people; it will also bring us closer than we've ever been to the level of self-determination necessary to eliminate the system. Unless we work hard to bring the (largely non-radical) masses into the movement, anarchists will only be a threat to the cops.

One person's reform is another person's path to revolution, and

rather than fight over what really is a non-issue, we should actively work on bringing mainstream people into the movement. So next time you see some pro-military guys telling sexist jokes at a VFW fish fry, hold your wrath long enough to talk to them about what the FTAA is going to do to American jobs. Radicalizing people can't be done in just one step. Keep true to your vision for the future, but be careful not to leave the masses behind.

In Solidarity,

Mike Pesa

[mpesa@kent.edu](mailto:mpesa@kent.edu)

Coalition for a Humane And New Global Economy (CHANGE)  
[www.kentchange.org](http://www.kentchange.org)

### TALK ABOUT THE HEADLINES

Hello *ONWARD*,

I've asked around and heard what people think of *ONWARD* and every comment was positive. Some editorial on current mainstream events could be useful. Like an anarchist analysis of some controversial issue that gets headlines for a while. Would there be rolling blackouts in an anarchist society? Why not? *ONWARD* is a very important, informative paper and a well written opinion piece could further articulate an anarchist alternative.

Love and Struggle,

Shawn O'Hearn

Shawn,

*Thanks for your insightful suggestion! As you may know, the Onward Collective is just a few people. We are always looking for anarchists to contribute in whatever ways they can. Comments and criticisms on the subjects of mainstream media and popular culture, as well as alternatives to this society are important parts of advancing anarchist ideas. Please spread the word that we are always looking for participation in a project supported by and functioning for the movement.*

Solidarity,

Rob Augman,

The Onward Collective

### THE LABOR MOVEMENT AND STREET PROTEST

Dear *ONWARD*,

It's true that the official labor movement is in bed with the boss, and this has been true since the AFL formed. However, that's not the whole story. No more than the ruling class itself is the labor movement a monolith. Within some unions exist progressive causes. How can we contact or relate to them? Also, there are many grassroots organizations bridging the gap between community and top-down business unionism. A case in point is the War Zone Education Foundation. Rather than fading back into the woodwork when the Staley Lockout was lost, a small group started the *War Zone* newsletter. Yet another is *Workers Democracy*. Still another is the *New Unionist*.

As for "putting a stop to the flow of capital accumulation" in the streets, demos at most can stop that for a few hours or days whereas a transit workers' strike can stop it for a lot longer than that if necessary. Further, the economic system and the political system are the same entwined entity.

★★★

A few thoughts on the Quebec actions against the FTAA:

Young people are quite literally the future. You must not waste yourselves. *Spend*, yes; waste, no. Ask that guy who got his larynx crushed. Ask him if it was worth it to delay for a bit the Suits who went right on and did their dirty work.

As for the corporate media, the only thing in the mainstream was about the "violence" and peskiness of the demonstrations.

I was intrigued by that march through a middle class neighborhood. Had that neighborhood been leafleted ahead of time? Any community meetings? How did the 30,000 people in the zone given "visas" feel about it? Who did they blame? Did anyone stay behind to work with *any* segment of that community?

Keep up your very good work.

Solidarity,

Joanne Forman

*\*See Starhawk's article (p. 3) for an article that addresses some of these issues.*

\*Letters don't necessarily represent the views of the Onward Collective. We print them because they express important or interesting ideas relevant to today's anarchist movement.



This is a partial listing of class war political prisoners and prisoners of war imprisoned in the USA, compiled by the Anarchist Black Cross Federation. These people come from a variety of backgrounds- anarchist, communist, socialist; New Afrikans, Puerto Rican independistas and white anti-imperialists. We need to learn from those who have been fighting for the same things for a long time and now face extreme repression because of it. If we fail to support our prisoners, we have already lost. Following is a list of groups that do other types of prisoner support: animal and earth liberationists, peace activists etc. Support political prisoners!

ABDUL MAJID (A. LaBORDE) 83A0483 / Wende C.F. Wende Rd / Box 1187 Alden, NY 14004-1187	DEBBIE SIMS AFRICA 006307 / 451 Fullerton Ave Cambridge Springs, PA 16403-1238	JEFFERY "FREE" LUERS #13797671 Two Rivers Correctional Facility Umatilla, OR 97882	MUMIA ABU-JAMAL AM-8335 / 175 Progress Dr. Waynesburg, PA 15370-8090	SEKOU ODINGA 05228-054 / Box 1000 Marion, IL 62959	★Anarchist Prisoners' Legal Aid Network 813 SW 3rd Ave PMB #354 Portland OR 97204 aplan69@hotmail.com
ALVARO HERNANDEZ LUNA #255735 BETO 1 Unit PO Box 128 TN Colony, TX 75880	DELBERT ORR AFRICA AM 4985 / Drawer K Dallas, PA 18612 SCI Dallas	JOSE SOLIS JORDON 08121-424 / Box 879 Coleman, FL 33521-0879 FCC Coleman Low B-3	OJORE NURU LUTALO 598607 / PO-861 SBI# 0000901548 Trenton, NJ 08625	SUNDIATA ACOLI 39794-066 / Box 3000 White Deer, PA 17887 USP Allenwood	★Earth First! Journal PO Box 3023 Tucson, AZ 85702 collective@earthfirstjournal.org www.earthfirstjournal.org
ANTHONY "JALIL" BOTTOM 77A4283 / Box 618 135 State St. / Auburn Cor. Fac. Auburn, NY 13024	Dr. MUTULU SHAKUR 03205-012 / Box PMB Atlanta, GA 30315	JOSEPH BOWEN AM4272 / 1 Kelly Drive Coal township, PA 17866-1021	OSCAR LOPEZ RIVERA 87651-025 / Box 33 Terre Haute, IN 47808	THOMAS MANNING 10373-016 / Box 4000 Springfield, MO 65801 MCFP	★The Jericho Movement PO Box 650, New York, NY 10009 jericho98@usa.net www.thejerichomovement.com
ANTONIO CAMACHO NEGRO 03587-069 / Box 2000 White Deer, PA 17887 USP Allenwood	ED POINDEXTER #1104037 525 Fourth Avenue Lino Lake, MN 55014-1099 Minn. Correctional Facility	JUAN SEGARRA PALMER 15357-077 / Box 879 Coleman, FL 33521-0879 FCC Coleman	RAY LUC LEVASSEUR 10376-016 / Box PMB Atlanta, GA 30315	THOMAS WARNER M3049 / Drawer R Huntingdon, PA 16652	★Earth Liberation Prisoner Support Network PO Box 11331 Eugene OR 97440
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## CHARAS...

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power so permeates the judicial system that the courts are not concerned with whether CHARAS is a much needed community space but only with whether its tenant's rights have been violated. The law favors the property rights of capitalists like Singer over the good of the community.

Political power in New York is incredibly centralized. The Mayor and other high-ranking city officials are hugely powerful, and there is no meaningful forum for public participation in decision-making. Yet, this extreme centralization of power in New York is in line with the logic of state power in general. So while Mayor Giuliani's autocratic rule is a target worthy of political attack, once he leaves office, New Yorkers will still be left with a government that sanctions a powerful elite to dictate the lives of the many.

To create real, lasting change communities must

reclaim power from the capitalist state. To reclaim this power communities need space to assemble and organize. New York needs CHARAS!

★★★

CHARAS's plight is far from over and may come to a head in the next few months, but the Lower Eastside has a long history of squat and garden defense, and the community will not lose CHARAS without a serious fight. To find out how you can help, stop by CHARAS (605 East 9th Street between Avenues B and C in Manhattan) or contact charas@erols.com.

Brooke Lehman is a native New Yorker and has most recently been organizing with NYC Direct Action Network and the NY Peoples Law Collective, who both rely on CHARAS for meeting and training space. She is also a faculty member at the Institute for Social Ecology (www.social-ecology.org) and a board member for the Institute for Anarchist Studies (flag.blackened.net/ias). She can be reached at brooke@igc.org.

## Death in the Family...

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because we have had enough, and we will not run from your guns.

These would-be leaders can scuttle off to Qatar or cruise ships or Rocky Mountain retreats, but we know their meetings have little impact on the real decisions made elsewhere. Perhaps we in the West should follow the example of India's farmers who removed Monsanto's headquarters brick by brick and took it away. If we don't like Bush's missile defence plans, we could go to Flyingdales and take it away - brick by brick, bullet by bullet. We have the ability to take capitalism out piece by piece, pound by pound. We could pick a company, say Balfour Beatty, and put them out of business. A thousand actions at a thousand sites dismantling every facet of their insidious business. Would their shareholders bail them out? Unlikely. Then we could move on and up. When we can co-ordinate our actions as millions of people, then maybe we can dismantle the oil industry, the arms industry, the prison industry - the government industry?

The mass street actions we have been able to mount and the dedication, planning and application of those on the streets has shown us that we have the wherewithal to make decisions and carry them out regardless of what the state may think or threaten. If we put this dynamic to work away from the mega-summits we can become a threat again. But we need to be imaginative and we need to stay ahead of the beast. Where we choose to go from here is crucial to whether we are in the process of sparking serious global change or whether we are merely in the death throes of another cycle of rebellion.

If we don't want corporate activity in our neighbourhoods, let's chuck the corporations out. If we don't want the police or the government flexing their muscle, let's stop recognising their bogus authority and encourage others to do the same. Let's link our communities together - not through state or business initiatives - but through people who share a common struggle. If we believe in making changes and creating something better, and if we are prepared to take the risks and put in the time, then let's do it. Let's not let Carlo's death be in vain, because when one of us catches a bullet, a club or jail sentence, a little bit of all of us dies. But together we are alive, and together we can, and we will, win.

**Anarchism is** the name given to a principle or theory of life and conduct under which society is conceived without government - harmony in such a society being obtained, not by submission to law, or by obedience to any authority, but by free agreements concluded between the various groups, territorial and professional, freely constituted for the sake of production and consumption, as also for the satisfaction of the infinite variety of needs and aspirations of a civilized being. In a society developed on these lines, the voluntary associations which already now begin to cover all the fields of human activity would take a still greater extension so as to substitute themselves for the State in all its functions. They would represent an interwoven network, composed of an infinite variety of groups and federations of all sizes and degrees, local, regional, national and international - temporary or more or less permanent - for all possible purposes: production, consumption and exchange, communications, sanitary arrangements, education, mutual protection, defense of the territory, and so on; and, on the other side, for the satisfaction of an ever-increasing number of scientific, artistic, literary and sociable needs. Moreover, such a society would represent nothing immutable. On the contrary - as is seen in organic life at large - harmony would (it is contended) result from an ever-changing adjustment and readjustment of equilibrium between the multitudes of forces and influences, and this adjustment would be the easier to obtain as none of the forces would enjoy a special protection from the State."

-Peter Kropotkin

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